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PETER TESTMAN'S ACCOUNT OF HIS EXPERIENCES IN NORTH AMERICA

Introduction

In the study of the European backgrounds of the American immigration of the nineteenth century it is of no little importance to examine the vast advertising movement which carried the story of the United States to all parts of the Old World. Norway offers an excellent illustration of the main phases of this movement. When the nineteenth-century emigration from that country began in 1825, the people of Norway knew very little about trans-Atlantic conditions. Not only was the country to a considerable extent isolated from the rest of Europe but the people themselves, because of geographical barriers and lack of easy means of communication, were divided into groups differing considerably in customs and dialects, many of them to an astonishing degree isolated. The letters which came from emigrants who had dared the perils of the journey across the Atlantic and into the American interior were practically the only available sources of information about the New World in the twenties and early thirties. They were read with keen interest by those who received them, and were then copied and recopied, carried from one farmhouse to another, and gradually disseminated throughout whole districts. "America letters" they were commonly called, and not infrequently they gave rise to a burning desire to emigrate, a spirit which was appropriately termed the "America fever." Not until 1838 was a printed handbook of information about the United States made available. This book was Ole Rynning's *True Account of America for the Information and Help of Peasant and Commoner*, a valuable work written in Illinois by an immigrant of 1837.[1] In the

[1] This book was published in Christiania under the title *Sandfærdig Beretning om Amerika, til Oplysning og Nytte for Bonde og Menigmand.* An English translation of it appears *ante*, 2: 221–269.

late thirties and early forties a number of books and pamphlets relating to America were published in Norway, and soon the printed records of personal experiences were supplemented by advertising pamphlets issued by states, railroads, land companies, and other organizations which, for one reason or another, desired to stimulate the emigration.

The immigrants and travelers whose writings were circulated throughout Norway did not consciously fit their testimony in with all that had been said and written before. They sent back their own independent versions of things seen and heard, and the result, taken as a whole, was a report on a grand scale to the people of Norway. Naturally there were on the one hand, errors and exaggerations as a result of undue optimism, while on the other hand hardships and discouragement sometimes resulted in reports unwarrantedly pessimistic in tone. The readers in Norway in many instances were thus able to compare the reports of both the successful and the unsuccessful immigrants, and thus to see both sides of the situation.

Peter Testman, a tinner in the city of Stavanger, Norway, emigrated in the spring of 1838, together with two brothers and three other men. He took the route via Bremen and New York, and under the leadership of the veteran emigrant guide, Cleng Peerson, journeyed to the little Norwegian settlement in Shelby County, Missouri, the site of which had been selected the year before by Peerson. As a result of his experiences in this pioneer community, Testman decided to return to Norway, and this he did in the spring of 1839. His journey took him to the Fox River settlement in Illinois and to Chicago, and then east by way of the Great Lakes, the Erie Canal, and the Hudson River. In Norway he wrote a small book in which he told the story of his adventure.

Testman returned to Norway empty-handed and disillusioned. His book naturally presents a somewhat gloomy picture of America. As an antidote to the books which were painting America in colors altogether too bright and thus

raising expectations which could not be fulfilled, Testman's narrative doubtless served a useful purpose. He showed that the American streets were not paved with gold. He warned the Norwegians that the long journey was fraught with perils and that its financial cost was heavy. He pointed out that the dreams of the emigrants were too bright. That he had unfortunately gone to the least successful of the Norwegian settlements in the West he did not realize, and his account is undoubtedly one-sided. As a vivid and detailed first-hand record of an emigrant's experiences, however, it is of considerable value to that increasing number of students who are subjecting the history of American immigration to close study. The title of the book in the original is *Kort Beskrivelse over de vigtigste Erfaringer under et Ophold i Nord-America og paa flere dermed forbundne Reiser; af Peter Testman, Blikkenslager* (Stavanger, 1839. 27 p.). The only known copy of the original is in the public library of Bergen, Norway. A transcript of it was made for the Minnesota Historical Society by Mr. Gunnar J. Malmin, who succeeded in finding the original in Bergen after a careful search in Norwegian libraries. Students of Norwegian immigration owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Malmin not only for finding a copy of the Testman pamphlet but also for bringing to light many other rare emigration documents.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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[TITLE PAGE]

A Short Account of the Most Important Experiences During a Sojourn in North America and on Several Travels Connected Therewith; by Peter Testman, Tinner. Stavanger. Printed by L. C. Kielland. 1839.[2]

[2] Miss Anne H. Blegen, editorial and office assistant on the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society, has coöperated with the editor in making the following translation. In the final revision much help was received from Dr. Grace Lee Nute, the society's curator of manuscripts.

[TEXT]

The emigration from Norway to the United North American Free States began fifteen or sixteen years ago, after that from the southern European countries had already been in progress for a long time. There has been a remarkable increase in the last years, chiefly, perhaps, because of the alluring tales which earlier emigrants, during visits to their native land, have told about the glories of the country in which they now have resided for several years. The reliability of these stories, moreover, was strengthened considerably by the many letters which these visitors usually brought with them from the Norwegians in America to their relatives and friends in Norway, letters which contained, almost without exception, the same praise for that foreign and distant land. All this naturally, in the case of a number of people, wakened the desire to seek their fortune in the much lauded regions where so many of their countrymen — and among them their own kin and friends — found themselves in such happy circumstances. They were strongly encouraged, furthermore, by the visiting emigrants; and from this time emigration began to increase in a marked degree.

A long-nourished desire to view that country and if possible to settle there became a definite determination in my case also, as a result of so many pleasing accounts, for I believed that by means of agriculture and cattle-raising I could find there an independent and pleasant livelihood.

With that purpose in view, early in the spring of 1837 I gave up my business in Stavanger, where I had hitherto resided; but since I was hindered by a number of unforeseen circumstances from availing myself of the opportunity to go on the sailing vessel which departed for New York in the summer of that year, I remained here until the next spring, that of 1838.[3] Together with two of my brothers and three other

[3] Two emigrant ships sailed from Norway directly to New York in 1837, one from Stavanger and the other from Bergen. See *ante*, 2: 224, 243.

persons I set out from this place early in May and took the route via Bremen, in the expectation of securing readier sailing accommodations across the sea to New York. In this hope we were disappointed, however, as we had to wait there fully three weeks and in the meantime pay high prices for board and lodging. During this sojourn I had an opportunity to observe the German land at Bremerhaven — to which we had come — and along the river Weser as far as Bremen.[4] The region was everywhere well tilled and thickly settled and afforded a pleasing sight to the eyes. Although it was only the beginning of the month of June, the fruitful fields of rye were already headed. I was almost astonished at the size of the cattle which were grazing upon a great, rich plain. According to report, some of them are equal in weight to three good head of cattle of ours, and they give up to twenty quarts of milk at a time.

We finally left Bremerhaven on a new fast-sailing brig of that port, which was loaded exclusively by and with passengers from different parts of Germany. Head winds caused the captain to alter his original course and to steer north of Scotland. We soon had to experience the inconveniences and privations of our situation. Since such a great number of people were packed together in a small room, the air became very foul and unwholesome; and in addition to this the food for which we contracted on board the ship was nearly always so salty that we could eat only a little of it, especially as we were not apportioned as much fresh water as we needed; not to mention many lesser inconveniences.

After about eight weeks' sailing we arrived without mishap at our first destination, New York. We had cruised, with slight exception, against an almost incessant west wind, and we were now glad that we were to be freed, as from a prison. A large decked boat or barge came to fetch us and it took us first to a large floating wharf equipped with various appliances

[4] Bremerhaven is a seaport town thirty-eight miles north of the city of Bremen.

for the washing of clothes, where all our baggage was inspected. That which was found to be unclean was not permitted to be taken ashore until it was washed. When this had taken place, we were transported by the same boat to one of the wharves on the southern side of the city, where a great crowd of people, who were already assembled, at once swarmed about us seeking to earn something by driving or carrying our things. A large number of innkeepers also crowded in upon us to offer us lodging. The pressure and tumult were so great that we could hardly work our way forward. We were not able to give the necessary attention to our baggage, and we were very fortunate, for, despite this fact, we lost nothing, although the belongings of the different passengers were thrown carelessly into the hold of the boat after the inspection and were now carried in wagons to different parts of the city. We Norwegians put up at a simple inn; nevertheless each person had to pay five-eighths of a piaster a day for board and lodging. (A piaster or dollar is equal to one hundred cents or, in Norwegian money, one hundred and twelve skillings silver.)

We stayed in New York five days in order to get our affairs arranged. I did not see anything remarkable as compared with any other large city, but a railroad, which went out from the northern end of the city, with its steam carriages, attracted my attention. This contrivance was the first of its kind that I had seen and I was therefore curious to view somewhat more closely both the carriages and the road. Consequently I decided to take a little trip on it. With several members of my party I therefore entered one of the coaches in the row, and it took us less than half an hour to rush out to the northern corner of the island upon which the city is built, a distance of somewhat more than eight English miles. This road was a double one, so that while the coaches on the one side left the city, those on the other side returned to it. The road was laid out nearly level, all the rough places through which it passed having been cut through. Much

labor has been spent especially on a mountain which was bored through to a distance of about three English miles. For a fairly long stretch the mountain stood like an arch over the railroad and formed a so-called tunnel. When we had reached the northern end of the island, where the coaches stopped, we got off and undertook a ramble afoot in order to observe the country roundabout, and we found then that the soil everywhere had to be fertilized and well tilled in order to yield its fruits. We discovered here some ruins of small fortifications from the time the Dutch occupied this region, which doubtless had served as a defense for them against the savage inhabitants of the country.

Our aim was to secure a piece of land from which, through farming and cattle raising, we could earn our living. To attain this end we had to proceed farther into the country. In the vicinity of New York, as a matter of fact, only a little land was available, and that at a price of more than three hundred piasters per acre. (An acre is about equal to a Norwegian *tönde* of land.) [5] On the day before our departure from New York we met one of our countrymen who was among the first emigrants from the western part of Norway. He was just now on a trip from the western states and was about to return home. He encouraged us to accompany him, and he described the state of Missouri, where he lives, as remarkably beautiful and glorious. We agreed to accompany him to that place, and I especially because of securing in him a guide and an interpreter, since he had traveled much in all the northern states and talked English with considerable fluency. [6]

[5] A *tönde land* is a Norwegian measure of land, 56,000 square feet.

[6] The guide was undoubtedly Cleng Peerson. See Theodore C. Blegen, "Cleng Peerson and Norwegian Immigration," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 7:321 (March, 1921), and R. B. Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration*, 187 (second edition, Madison, Wisconsin, 1904). Testman's narrative makes it clear that Peerson did not accompany the Testman party from Norway to America, nor did this emigration occur in 1839. On both points the new evidence conflicts with the traditional story.

On a big barge with a roof over it, which with five others was tied fast alongside a steamer, we journeyed up the Hudson river to Albany, a distance of a hundred and fifty English miles. From that place, after our baggage had been weighed, we went on board a canal boat to continue the trip through the Erie Canal. The cost for every hundredweight through this canal was ninety-one cents. When this freight charge was paid by the passengers the boat was pulled in upon a huge set of scales which hung deep down in the water. The latter was then let out by means of locks, and the boat, with all its cargo, was weighed in order to estimate the canal tolls which the skipper had to pay. Such a canal boat can carry from one hundred to a hundred and fifty barrels; others, which carry cargoes only and no passengers, can generally hold double that amount.

The boat on which we traveled was drawn night and day by two horses, but we did not go forward very rapidly, as the horses had to advance at a walking pace all the time because of the great cargo. The so-called packetboats, however, which likewise pass through this canal — carrying passengers only — have three horses and go more than twice as fast, but the freight charge on the latter boats amounts to four times that paid on the former. At the many cities through which the canal passes freight was either loaded or unloaded, and this caused some delay in our trip. Provisions at these places were fairly expensive: one pound of butter cost from eighteen to twenty-five cents, one pound of pork twelve to sixteen cents, one pound of meat eight to ten cents, one quart of milk six cents, one loaf of bread — not more than enough to make a meal for one person — six cents, and other things in the same proportion. After six days had passed we reached Rochester, which is situated 270 English miles from Albany, and we stopped a couple of days with the few of our countrymen who lived there. Our party was increased at this place by several of these Norwegians, so that in all we numbered twenty-two persons. Nearly all those who thus joined us were in

poor circumstances and were in part prevailed upon to accompany us by our guide. We arrived next at Buffalo, which is situated ninety-three English miles from Rochester at the eastern end of Lake Erie, where the canal ends. Here we went aboard a large steamboat, which was going all the way to Chicago, in Illinois, a distance of about a thousand miles by sea. Our guide, however, persuaded us not to go there, since our baggage would still have to be carried a hundred miles farther by land, and this transportation would be very costly as no railroad had been built from the latter place. When we arrived at Cleveland, in the state of Ohio, 193 English miles from Buffalo, we again went aboard a canal boat in order to continue on our way through the Ohio Canal and thence, by way of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, to our destination in Missouri. To this change in our traveling plans I was opposed for a long time, because I had learned from printed accounts that nearly all the North American rivers had very low water in the dry season — in which we found ourselves just now, and were therefore difficult to navigate. The outcome showed that this was in truth the case, as I will relate more fully below. The Ohio Canal runs from north to south, for the most part through unsettled, wooded stretches of country, which, however, have already been bought up by rich men for purposes of speculation. This is the reason why the land still lies so uncultivated.

As long as our journey lasted on this canal, which is 306 English miles in length, we did not experience any special difficulties; but when we had reached Portsmouth, where the canal ends, we at once had a very laborious task to perform, combined with considerable outlays of money, in order to convey our baggage to the steamer on the Ohio River, since the Scioto River, which we had to cross for that purpose, was so low that the canal boat could not navigate it. We all had to begin now to unload from the canal boat the many chests and packages — some of them very heavy — and to load them up again on wagons, on which they were carried to the

banks of the Ohio River, where of course we had to repeat the same arduous labor in order to get them over into the steamboat. We now had before us a distance of 619 English miles on this river before we could reach the Mississippi, into which it flows. The Ohio is ordinarily navigable for steamboats from Pittsburg down its course for a distance of more than 970 English miles to its outlet, but this is not the case in the dry season. This time the river was so very low that we were grounded more than twenty times, and on these occasions we had to unload all our baggage onto barges and thereupon move out to the deeper places in the river, where in turn we reloaded them onto the steamboat as soon as it had worked itself loose, and this it often failed to do until after exertions lasting from twenty-four to thirty hours. At two places, however, it proved absolutely impossible for the boat to cross the shoals, and therefore we were forced to transfer, with all our baggage, to other steamboats which lay below the shoals. As a consequence, the freight charge was double the amount it would otherwise have been for the entire distance from Portsmouth to St. Louis, not to speak of provisions, with which we had to supply ourselves for so long a time, because of the delays of the journey, that the amount was five times greater than planned. Contrary to expectations, provisions became in part even more costly the farther we advanced into the country; thus, for example, the price of milk increased until it was doubled and potatoes cost from three to four piasters per barrel.

As the summer heat during all this part of our trip was so oppressive that we perspired even while sitting still, it was inevitable that many of our company, as a result of such incessant and hard exertions — in which the sweat completely soaked through our clothes — should be taken sick. One after the other was confined to his bed, and as a result the difficulties and labors of those who could still keep on their feet were still further increased. This fate overtook even some of those who had already lived in America nearly three years

and had earlier survived hard attacks of sickness as a result of the unaccustomed climate. It was natural that the desire to see an end of all these troubles grew with every day, and this longing was finally fulfilled when we left the Ohio and came into the Mississippi River.

Before I go further in this report of my journey, I will merely remark for the benefit of the uninformed (for whose sake especially I am, in fact, writing this account) that one can go from Baltimore all the way to Pittsburg on a railroad 250 miles long and thence on steamboats down the Ohio River to Portsmouth, where, as I have said above, I began my trip on this river. As several of the German seaports, including also Bremen, carry on a not unimportant trade with Baltimore, this route is often used by the immigrants from Germany, who likewise wish to settle in the interior of the United States; but it may perhaps also be recommended to the Norwegians who seek the same region, partly because the entire distance from Baltimore to Portsmouth is more than four hundred miles shorter than the route from New York to that place, and partly because of the very much shorter time required for the trip, for one does not need more than twelve or fourteen hours to traverse the above-mentioned railroad to Pittsburg.

When we left the Ohio and came into the Mississippi, as I have mentioned above, we found to our great astonishment that the volume of water in this river had risen to an unusual height, so that, as we were later informed, it had even flooded several cities situated on its banks. The cause of this, it was supposed, must be either the breaking up of the ice or an unusually heavy rain at its sources in Canada. On this river we now had to put behind us a distance of more than three hundred English miles. On the way we had to spend a couple of days in St. Louis waiting for further means of conveyance; but this stay gave us, meanwhile, an opportunity to make a few purchases which we needed for the housekeeping we were soon to begin, for this large commercial city

was the last which we were to pass by. Here our guide parted from us, since he, together with another person, had gone outside the city to visit a Norseman from Trondhjem living there, and he did not return from this trip before the steamboat which we took had left. This separation caused us no trouble now, however, for a map of the North American Free States rendered us the same service with regard to the route. We reached Hannibal — a little town in Missouri on the banks of the Mississippi, 132 English miles north of St. Louis — about one and one-half days after we had left the latter place. We had scarcely put our goods ashore and under shelter and arranged our simple sleeping quarters — after several hours of work in the middle of the night — when the two persons who had been left behind in St. Louis also arrived. From here we now had sixty miles to travel by land before we could reach the place in the state of Missouri upon which we had decided as the goal of our journey. For this purpose we hired two large wagons, each with two teams. This conveyance was very inadequate, however, and it caused us difficulties on account of the many sick persons, all of whom had to ride on the wagons despite the fact that the baggage took up nearly all the space; and still this means of transportation was the most expensive we had had up to this time, as it cost us eight piasters a day. This high price we were required to pay not only for the trip out but also for the return journey of the drivers themselves, the cost for both trips being computed and paid according to the time which they required on this trackless route. As a natural consequence, all those who were moderately well had to walk. At last we came to the cabins of the Norwegians (for there are as yet no houses), which stood in a row one after another for a stretch of five English miles at the edge of a little wood.[7] The sick were distributed among the cabins.

[7] This settlement in Shelby County, in northeastern Missouri, was an offshoot of the Fox River settlement in Illinois. It was founded in the spring of 1837 by a party of twelve or fourteen Norwegians. An

But we now lacked everything which could serve as nourishment both for us and for them, yes, almost the chief necessities of life, with the sole exception of Indian corn, the meal of which is used for bread which is very dry and not very firm, about like the barley at home; for the little supply of provisions which we brought with us was soon distributed and consumed. All the Norwegians here were in poor circumstances, so that we were barely able to obtain some butter and milk — and even that was possible only at the beginning, for when the winter began there was no more to be had either here or from the Americans who lived nearest to us. Two of the sick died after a short time and the others recovered but slowly.

At this time (the month of October) a public sale fixed by Congress was held of the lands hereabout, but none of the Norwegians, with a couple of exceptions, were wealthy enough to redeem even a part of the piece of land which they had taken into use and to which the users themselves have the right of purchase if they can pay cash money. Most of them, therefore, had to move on again to uncultivated land and begin over again without any compensation for the improvement which

immigrant of 1836 who came to the Illinois settlement has left an account of the circumstances which led to the Missouri venture. He and a number of other Norwegians who came to America in 1836 were greatly disappointed with the situation in Illinois. Toward the spring of 1837, he writes, "we hired a man from the Stavanger district, one of the first emigrants, Kleng Pedersen Hesthammer, who understood the language and had considerable knowledge about conditions in the country. This man made a journey of investigation for us and reported that he had found land on the west side of the Mississippi River which, in his opinion, was sufficient and good." About the beginning of May, 1837, these settlers moved to the Shelby County settlement. See Sjur Jörgensen Haaeim, *Oplysninger om Forholdene i Nordamerika*, 2 (Christiania, 1842). There has been some difference of opinion concerning the success of the Missouri settlement, but there is no doubt that it was not on the highways of population expansion in the upper Mississippi Valley and that after a few years it began to disintegrate. That Missouri was a slave state did not add to its popularity as a site for a Norwegian settlement. Missouri attracted few Norwegian settlers; many of those who went there soon moved north into Iowa and some returned to Norway.

they had made on the land save what the buyer would voluntarily grant them. That they can ever in this way become owners of a piece of land, even supposing that they are permitted to occupy it five or six years before the auction of it is held, is hardly believable, for a man finds it difficult to earn more than he needs for the necessary support of himself and his family, and it therefore becomes impossible for him to hire workmen. Some of my countrymen who lived at this place told me frankly both of the trials which they themselves had endured and of the fate of the earlier Norwegian immigrants. The latter had in their time bought land on credit about thirty English miles from Rochester, on the shores of Lake Ontario.[8] They had suffered exceedingly from sickness, especially in the beginning, and this set them back considerably in their external circumstances. It is true that after one man had taken it upon himself to seek aid for them they received not a little help from the Americans residing in the vicinity, but a large portion of their gifts unfortunately went up in flames when a fire broke out in the house in which they were kept. The little aid which was again given them was far from sufficient to relieve the great distress, and they had to contend with straitened circumstances for a long time before their condition was somewhat bettered. In recent times property there, as well as in every place where population increases, has risen considerably in price. As a consequence several of these Norwegians not long ago sold their possessions and received fifteen or twenty times the amount they themselves had paid, discharged their debts, and then went to the state of Illinois, where they bought for themselves more extensive and better lands at the price fixed by Congress and in addition they also procured cattle.[9] They are now in fairly good circumstances, whereas nearly all the

[8] This is a reference to the western New York colony which was established by the Norwegian immigrants of 1825.

[9] One of the New York settlers, Gjert G. Hovland, in a letter written on April 22, 1835, gives some particulars on this point: "Six families of the Norwegians who had settled in this place sold their farms last summer and moved farther west in the country to a place which is called

later Norwegian immigrants must support themselves by heavy day labor, and this they seldom endure very long as they nearly always become ill as a result of the hot climate, which wrings from them an unusually intense perspiration, the loss of which they must make good, after a fashion, by drinking cold water immoderately. The sicknesses arising from this cause usually carry off many people, and such was especially the case the summer I spent in America. According to some reports, in the short period of three months from forty to fifty of my countrymen in La Salle County alone are said to have died and of the whole population in that county not less than fourteen hundred people.

In all the places through which I traveled by land, the soil appeared to be more or less fertile. In the Mississippi Valley the mould was as deep as six feet at some places and was very rich. When I came outside this valley I found it only from one-half to one and one-half feet deep and less rich; nevertheless it yields different kinds of grain for several years in succession without needing fertilizing. This is the case also at the place in Missouri where I stayed, which was situated fifty English miles west of Palmyra. Here maize and buckwheat thrive remarkably well and wheat and rye indifferently; the two latter grains succeed better in the more northern and eastern states, however, as the summer heat is more temperate there. The crop of oats is ordinarily small and is used only for fodder; barley very seldom thrives. The state of Missouri is especially suitable for raising cattle and hogs, since the fields are suited by nature for that purpose not only because of the

Ellenaais. . . . I sold my land last summer, in July, 1834, and by the transaction earned in cash the sum of five hundred dollars. I have now decided to buy one hundred and sixty acres, an amount which can be paid for with two hundred dollars. The eight Norwegian families still in this neighborhood desire to sell their land as soon as they can, and to move west." A transcript of this letter, which was written to Torjuls A. Mæland, made from the original in the church archives of Ullensvang, Norway, is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. The entire letter is translated into English in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 2:68–74 (June, 1922).

luxuriant wild grass, which grows by itself everywhere, but also because of the fairly large amount of fruits fallen from the trees, which lie in the woods.

The stretches of woods usually follow the course of the rivers and brooks and traverse, with them, the great plain of which the country is composed. The most common tree which the forests of Missouri as well as those of the bordering states contain is the oak, of which there are a half score of different kinds; this tree ordinarily attains a good size, for the circumference of the trunk not seldom measures from three to four ells and it produces the most suitable material for building. Quite often, furthermore, one comes across a tree called the hickory (*Hokry*), the trunk of which is somewhat thinner and straighter than that of the oak, and it attains the same height as the latter. It produces a fruit which has a striking similarity to our walnuts, the kernel having the same appearance and taste as these. The wood of this tree is used chiefly for fuel and possesses the excellent quality, not found in other kinds of wood, of burning just as well in the newly cut state as when it has been dried out. The so-called black walnut tree is also found, though in much smaller quantity, its wood, on account of its great similarity in the appearance to the mahogany (*Mahognyen*), being used mainly by carpenters for furniture. Somewhat more frequently, especially in the state of Ohio, one meets with a fourth kind of tree, known as the sycamore (*Secimor*), which in circumference as well as in height considerably surpasses all the above-mentioned kinds, as the trunk sometimes attains a diameter which approaches twenty feet, which consequently makes a circumference of about sixty feet. The wood, which is white in color, is usually cut up into boards.

Despite the fact that most regions to a greater or less degree are well supplied with building materials, still it seldom happens that any of the immigrants are able to provide themselves with a respectable dwelling house. The reason for this condition must be sought partly in the unusually high wages — a

result of the fact that there are not many workers skilled in the building business — and partly in the circumstances that the prices of all tools required for this work are generally from three to four times as high as they are here in Norway. The expenses of the journey and the cost of the land and of the most necessary implements for its cultivation swallow up ordinarily the largest part of the fortune which they brought with them from Europe, and they have to use the part that remains to supply themselves with food and clothes until the cultivated land can provide them with the necessary subsistence. This good fortune falls to the lot of but a very small number of them, however, for most, upon their arrival at their destination, must at once for lack of money try to provide for their maintenance by coarse and heavy labor. And even if they are able in this way, because of the high wages, to earn a little more than a common laborer in Europe, the necessaries in food and clothing, on the other hand, are much more costly over there than among us.

Of the different kinds of game found in the woods may be mentioned particularly: deer, which are somewhat smaller than ours and can be met with all the year round; turkeys and several kinds of chickens, which likewise are found at all times; geese and swans and the like, which, on the other hand, are found only in the spring and the fall. Of beasts of prey there is only a kind of small wolf about the size of a fox, which, strangely enough, does no damage to the cattle.

It is worth remarking, further, that as natural riches one finds not infrequently very considerable stores of wild honey which is not inferior in good taste to that gathered by tame bees. Since so many tracts of land are not yet settled and therefore lie altogether uncultivated, the right is consequently open to anyone to take possession of what he can discover in that respect. These finds have often been so great that it has been possible at one place to fill with honey a vessel of the size of an anker. This naturally has caused many to take up bee-keeping, which is generally carried on with very good success.

I have remarked above that as soon as we arrived at the place to which our guide led us we had to struggle with many wants and privations. Thus it came about that I, as a newcomer, through ignorance was beguiled into buying at the above-mentioned auction a piece of land which — as I learned afterward and therefore too late — was of such a nature that I could not, with any security, have the hope of gaining my future livelihood from it. The time from my arrival until the auction was held was in fact so short that, owing to other business, I did not get time personally to examine the property, which consisted for the most part of woods, and for this reason I was forced to accept guidance and advice from others. Their assurances were founded on the belief that all the remaining usable land to be put up at auction had already been taken into use by native Americans who, owing to their better circumstances, would doubtless know enough to avail themselves of their prior right of purchase. This idea, I learned later, was wrong, for after the sale had been held it was discovered that at a distance of not more than four miles from us there was a not inconsiderable stretch of good land, some of it with woods upon it and some without, which had not yet been taken into use by anyone. Since I, according to the conditions of the auction, had immediately paid the government the purchase price for the piece I bought and in this way had been parted from nearly the whole of my little fund of cash, it was now impossible for me to get another and a better piece of land without first having sold and received the money for that which I had already bought. This I did in fact, but I had to agree from time to time to delays in the payments. In a plight such as the one in which I now found myself I had to learn, all too soon, that nothing remained for me but the choice either of gaining my daily living by ordinary work for strangers or else of using the few skillings that I still had left to defray if possible the expenses of my return journey to Europe. As I did not feel strong enough in this unaccustomed climate to be able to choose the first, the decision ripened more and more within

me to return to my native land, and to this resolution other circumstances at that place also prompted me. These were in part of a kind not equally oppressive to everyone, nor are they ascribed any great importance; but in my case they soon were rather specially felt. As a result of the free and almost lawless state in which all the inhabitants of the North American Free States outside the cities live, regular churches and appointed ministers are equally scarce, and the few places where there perchance may be found houses for public worship and ministers chosen by the congregations themselves are extremely few and very far apart.

In the following year, 1839, at Easter time, after having lived in the state of Missouri for a period of six months, I set out upon my return journey and was accompanied by my two brothers as far as the banks of the Mississippi, whence they again returned to their places of residence. After a trip of a day and a half on a steamboat down the river, I reached St. Louis, where after a stay of two days, in order to meet a Norseman who had settled in Illinois and who likewise intended to return to his native country, although only for a visit, I took another boat which went back a short distance to the mouth of the Illinois River and continued the journey up this entire river. I was forced to take the roundabout route which I have described because the first steamboat on which I embarked was bound for St. Louis. The journey up the Illinois River presented to the eye an unusually expansive and beautiful view. Nearly everywhere its banks on both sides were very low and vast boundless plains which were entirely bare of woods bordered directly on the river, which in the rainy season not seldom floods whole stretches of land and makes them in many places uninhabitable. When we had only seventy English miles left of our trip on this river, we had the misfortune of having the paddleshaft of the steamer suddenly break in two, so that we were barely able — and that only by using the one wheel — to reach the nearest bank. I as well as the other passengers had to wait here for the arrival of another steamboat which was

just then expected. We all embarked upon it and in the course of several hours arrived at a little town called Utica, where I went ashore. From here I went on foot a distance of twenty-two English miles to the place where my prospective traveling companion, in addition to a great number of other Norwegians, lived.[10] Here I met also some of the Norwegians who had emigrated by way of Bergen two years before and who first settled farther south in Illinois at Beaver Creek, but who, after student Rynning and many others died as a result of the unhealthful climate, fled from their houses and lands after having lost nearly everything they owned.[11] Since I had left my baggage in Utica, I turned back again the following day with oxen and wagon to fetch it. Meanwhile the news of my arrival had spread among the Norwegians employed in the public canal work. Several of these came running to meet me on the road, partly to hear news from their homes and partly to give me information about their varying conditions and circumstances; and not a few of them expressed regret for having left their native land.

After a stay of six days I departed in company with my new traveling companion from the little Norwegian colony just mentioned, which is situated twelve English miles north of the outlet of the Fox River into the Illinois River, and we continued our journey overland sixty-five English miles northward to Chicago. On this trip we traveled seven English miles across a plain which, as far as the eye could see, was so flat that it almost resembled a lake. It is said that this plain is covered with water the greater part of the year, but it is not so deep but that one can make one's way through it with horses and wagons. About in the center of the plain stands a lonely inn to receive and lodge travelers and to direct them on their way. Chicago is a city founded fairly recently, which is still growing

[10] This was the Fox River settlement in La Salle County, Illinois. A brief account of its establishment is given in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 7: 318–320.

[11] For an account of the Beaver Creek settlement see *ante*, 2: 226–228.

rapidly owing to its favorable commercial location on Lake Michigan, a circumstance which in time will certainly make it a connecting or central point for the important trade between New York and New Orleans when the canal between the Illinois River and Lake Michigan, which is under construction, is completed. Since it is necessary to cut through a terrain of only 110 English miles in length, which is very suitable for digging, the entire project in all probability may be expected to be completed in two or at the most three years, and then a transportation route will be opened which will exceed in length all others of this kind; indeed, perhaps there will never hereafter be another like it in all North America, since, by a continuous water route one can travel from New York by way of the Hudson River, the Erie Canal, Lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan, and the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers all the way to New Orleans, near the Gulf of Mexico, a route which can be estimated to be a distance of 3,100 English miles. In addition to the above-mentioned canal, the construction of a railroad running parallel to it is also being undertaken, in order to provide a means of communication by land.

Though Chicago not more than five or six years ago consisted of only a few simple log houses, one can now see there more than four hundred respectable buildings on foundations, a fact which sufficiently indicates its rapid progress. Here we awaited the arrival of a steamer from the eastern states which was to transport us across the three lakes, Michigan, Huron, and Erie, to the city of Buffalo on the shores of the last-named lake. During all this portion of the journey practically nothing worth noting happened, except that during our journey on Lake Michigan we were compelled, because of a hard storm, to put in one night at a harbor, where a considerable supply of firewood was taken on for running the engine; and that I had an opportunity, upon the trip through the river which unites Lake Huron with Erie, to view the nearby city of Detroit which at the present time is still the most considerable of all the commercial cities situated on these lakes. After a trip of ten or eleven

days we arrived safely at Buffalo, where we at once resumed our journey by a canal boat through the Erie Canal to the city of Albany. I now had a better opportunity than upon my first trip to examine closely this remarkable canal, which not far from Buffalo passes through a mountain for a stretch of nearly eight miles, where it has been necessary to dig the channel step by step. At the end of this mountain, where the course of the canal leads down a fairly steep hill, it has been necessary to build four locks with double accommodations, so that one boat can pass down the locks while another goes up, without obstructing each other. This gigantic work is said to have cost about three million piasters. Indeed, at two places the canal was constructed above fairly wide rivers at a height of twenty and thirty ells from their water levels, and the canal itself, as well as the huge pillars — erected from the bottom of the river — upon which it rested, were put together with rough-hewn square stones joined with water-tight cement; from a distance these pillars gave the canal the appearance of a bridge. On a stretch of about two miles in length, not very far from Albany, we passed through not less than eighteen locks which, like those mentioned above, were all constructed of large square stones. One can therefore assume with a fair degree of certainty that the construction of this canal has made it, to say the least, one of the most costly among all those which have been built in America; in a period of less than fourteen years since its completion, however, it has already brought its owners a sum so great that it exceeds by ten million piasters all the expenses incurred. The steadily increasing traffic on the canal has therefore induced the shareholders to let it be doubled in width in order to make it passable for steamboats, and they have already begun to carry out this plan. For this purpose several thousand men have been put to work at different places from one end of the canal to the other.

We reached Albany from Buffalo after seven days had passed, and on the following day we embarked upon the steamboat to go down the Hudson River to New York. Without

remaining in this expensive place longer than was absolutely necessary for the purchase of the provisions and other things required for the long sea voyage ahead of us and after having obtained from the Norwegian-Swedish consul the information that a Swedish brig ready for sea and bound for the Baltic lay at the pier, we went aboard it, shipped our baggage, and two days later, when the wind was favorable, put to sea. This crossing, during which we had to go through a couple of storms, nevertheless was made on the whole successfully and speedily so that at the end of five weeks we reached the Elsinore harbor. We were lucky enough on the following morning to find here by inquiry among the many ships lying at anchor one which was just ready to sail for Bergen. On this one we embarked and were so fortunate as to reach the harbor of Tananger eight days later. From there I went on to my native city, Stavanger, happy and thanking God, who had brought me so safely and well through the many and wearisome travels.

I have now described the most important of the experiences which I have had during my stay in America and on the travels connected therewith. If in telling about the latter I have been guilty of any diffuseness, I must ask the reader's kind forbearance. I can at least assure him that I have in no matter departed from the truth, just as I have in the main presented all in sequence, in order to enlighten the more uninformed of my countrymen who might wish similarly to try their luck in that part of the world, concerning the many costly as well as laborious travels; and if possible to convince them that the North American states are far from offering their new immigrants all the advantages of which so many like to dream after they have been humbugged by several encouraging and alluring, but incorrect, descriptions of the fate and present circumstances of the earlier emigrants. The country can indeed be said to be good and fertile, but while lands are obtainable nowadays only in the interior states, for example in Missouri, for a somewhat reasonable price, unfortunately it very seldom hap-

pens that a Norwegian is lucky enough to attain any prosperity; for the unaccustomed climate — in which all the less prosperous must work — puts them all, without exception, on the sickbed after a longer or a shorter time, and they are able to leave it only after a half or sometimes a whole year. What especially increases the destructive effect of the usual summer heat is the fact that the warm days are always followed by cold damp nights throughout the entire summer, and this circumstance alone ought to make it very questionable for anyone — and especially for the head of a family — to go there. At any rate one ought to consider the truly not inconsiderable fortune which is required not merely to meet the expenses of the journey but also to supply land and tools in addition to food and clothing during the fairly long period which must elapse before the ground can adequately repay the sweat of its tiller.

There may perhaps be those who believe that I, as one unaccustomed to such exertion and hardships, have described them in colors altogether too strong, but as to this I must remark on the one hand that for a period of about fifteen years in my native country I occupied a position in which constant heavy labor was required; on the other, that it is not only my own experiences which support me in this matter, but *the testimony of a great many of my countrymen in America*, which, with some few exceptions, was quite in accord with what I myself experienced. A certain Dr. Gottfried Duden in Germany, who has lived for a period of about four years in the interior of the United States, makes, in a publication which he has not long since issued, the estimate, based upon actual experiences, that barely one out of eight of the German immigrants sees his expectations in some measure fulfilled.[12]

[12] In volumes 12 and 13 of the *Missouri Historical Review*, (October, 1917–April, 1919), William K. Bek presents an English translation of "Gottfried Duden's 'Report,' 1824–1827."

THE NORWEGIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE EARLY NORWEGIAN EMIGRATION

The Norse-American Centennial celebration in Minnesota this June calls the attention of the American people to the beginnings of the nineteenth-century emigration from Norway to the United States. A party of fifty-two Norsemen who had learned something about America purchased a sloop of less than fifty tons, set sail on a summer's day in 1825 from the harbor of Stavanger on the southwestern coast of Norway, and after being tossed about on the sea for fourteen long weeks reached New York, the gateway of the Promised Land — the vanguard of a host of more than seven hundred thousand emigrants from the western half of the Scandinavian peninsula. Most of these pioneer emigrants settled near Rochester, New York, where they successfully coped with the problems of newcomers unacquainted with the language and the customs of the new country. In the early thirties, under the leadership of Cleng Peerson, many of them went west to Illinois, and the Fox River settlement in that state became the nucleus from which, in the following years, Norwegian settlement radiated throughout the upper Mississippi Valley. The movement was given very considerable impetus in the thirties by the arrival of new groups from Norway, the founding of new settlements, and the beginnings of a vast, though unorganized, advertising movement which was destined to carry the story of the United States to the most remote and isolated corners of the northern kingdom.

As the emigration grew in volume and in importance Norwegian officials were compelled to take it under serious consideration, and the government was at first uncertain how to proceed, for the problem was a novel one. Should it attempt by means of legislation to regulate the emigration or should it keep its hands off? In the years from 1843 to 1845 a cautious at-

tempt was made to place a general regulatory law on the statutes. It failed, but it produced a careful investigation of the entire subject, the documentary records of which throw a flood of light upon the Norwegian emigration movement from its beginnings in the twenties down to the early forties. An analysis of this government project is presented in the following pages not only as a study in the backgrounds of a special population movement which has been an important factor in the history of the upper Mississippi Valley, but also as a slight contribution to knowledge of the problems which the vast emigration of the earlier nineteenth century occasioned generally in Europe.[1] It must be remembered that the unprecedented exodus of population from the Old World in the nineteenth century created a set of novel and difficult questions for European economists and statesmen. It is distinctly worth while, in dealing with the history of American immigration, to examine its European backgrounds and to appreciate the point of view of the European governments toward the matter. After all, no thor-

[1] Four years ago, in an article on "Cleng Peerson and Norwegian Immigration" published in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 7:303–331 (March, 1921), the writer called attention to an official document of much importance for the study of the early emigration from Norway to the United States. This document, the printed record of the Norwegian governmental investigation in the years 1843–45 which eventuated in a proposed regulatory emigration law, is found under the title "Angaaende Udvandringer til Fremmede Verdensdele," in *Kongeriget Norges Ellevte Ordentlige Storthings Forhandlinger i Aaret 1845*, vol. 1, part 6, p. 1–60. The present article, which is a chapter in a forthcoming book on the history of Norwegian immigration, is based primarily on the material in that document. Use has also been made of *Storthings-Efterretninger 1836–1854, Udgivne efter Offentlige Foranstaltning*, 2:762–764 (Christiania, 1893), and of *Kongeriget Norges Ellevte Ordentlige Storthings Forhandlinger i Aaret 1845*, 8:87–95, in which the action of the Norwegian Odelsthing on the proposed law is recorded. Not a few interesting supplementary details not included in these published documents are to be found in a series of emigration papers in the Norwegian archives. Selections from these papers form a part of the articles by Mr. Gunnar J. Malmin in *Decorah-Posten* (Decorah, Iowa) for December 19 and 26, 1924, and January 2 and 9, 1925, published in a valuable series bearing the general title "Norsk Landnam i U. S."

oughgoing understanding of the entire subject of these modern folk wanderings is possible unless they are viewed as a whole. The immigrant was also the emigrant. To attempt to interpret the immigrant without explaining the emigrant is obviously to invite superficiality of treatment.

In 1843 the Norwegian-Swedish consul at Havre reported to the finance department of the Norwegian government that during the preceding year 841 emigrants from Norway had arrived in Havre on their way to America. No less than two hundred of these people were in "dire need," and twenty-eight had to be sent back to Norway. The consul believed that rules were needed in the interests of the emigrants themselves and suggested that steps should be taken to make sure that each emigrant had sufficient money to meet the necessary expenses of the trip — certainly not less than fifty specie dollars (thirty-eight American dollars). The finance department took up the matter with the sheriff of Bratsberg *amt*, who suggested that a commission should be appointed in that district to study the situation. In his opinion the signs pointed to a continuing emigration which had not yet "reached its high point," and there was a good chance that the movement would spread; something effective, therefore, should be done at once. That he had some conception of the significance of the emigration is shown by his statement that it "is so remarkable a phenomenon that its explanation is to be found not only in the national character but also in defects in the economic and social conditions" of the country. He therefore suggested that legislation might improve the situation which brought about the emigration and called special attention to the importance of the land question, pointing out that the emigrants were chiefly from the poorest districts.

The finance department took the view that the causes of the movement were economic and could not be removed by legislation. The department apparently accepted fully the implications of the *laissez-faire* theory, for it held that "if laws are passed you hinder the free development of business." Never-

theless, the protection of creditors was considered imperative, no less than the protection of the emigrants themselves. The department, therefore, although it specifically said that the "government does not want to hinder the emigration or to make it more difficult," proposed the following: (1) "That in the limits of Bratsberg *amt* a commission be appointed which shall be empowered to draw up a proposed law embodying what should be done in respect of emigration to foreign countries, both with a view to protecting the emigrant on the journey and to protecting the public and private interests affected by the emigration; and that the commission be authorized to correspond directly with the various authorities in order to secure from them the needed information and explanations. (2) That as members of this commission the following be named: F. C. Borchsenius, procurator and sheriff in Bratsberg *amt;* J. Gasmann, vice consul and broker in Porsgrund; and Dr. F. C. Faye of Skien." These recommendations were approved by the government on November 8, 1843, and on November 11 the commission was appointed by the king.

In a preliminary report dated December 27, 1843, this commission stated that two "troubles" have arisen in connection with the emigration. People in debt "have run away without satisfying their creditors," and on at least two ships typhus has developed. The commission advised the issuance of an executive order, to be effective as a temporary measure before the emigration in the spring of 1844. In the meantime a full investigation would be made. The commissioners stated that they had already familiarized themselves with the American immigration law of March 2, 1819. They believed that nothing should be done to hinder emigration. The movement may be rooted in some serious "condition of the state's organism" or in evil social conditions. Or it may be based — and the commission was inclined to believe that this was the case — upon the "hope of an easier livelihood in the new world." In any event, it is "impolitic and not right to

put legal hindrances in the way of emigration," for it "will not serve the state to force people to stay" in their own country. Apropos of conditions on board ships, the commission reported that on one emigrant ship thirty persons died during the voyage and that on another five died and three times that number were ill. As soon as the latter ship reached America the sick emigrants were taken to a hospital. Attention was called to a letter from an emigrant in which "people who are in tolerable circumstances" are advised not to come to America. Special attention was also given to the situation reported by the consul at Havre.[2]

The Norwegian government decided not to issue a provisional order embodying the preliminary recommendations of the commission. In a report of January 7, 1844, which was approved by the king on February 7, the government took the view that the condition was not sufficiently serious to warrant a provisional order. The entire subject matter of the proposed regulations was novel and it was unwise to deal with it in haste. The government therefore called for a new investigation to be reported by October, 1844, in time for action by the Storthing of 1845, so that a law might be put in effect before the spring emigration of 1845.

The commission therefore continued its investigation and on December 15, 1844, submitted a final report to the king. The main portion of this report consists of a proposed emigration law, but this is preceded by an interesting and important consideration of the emigration movement and its causes. Emigrations from Norway, the commission points out, have for a long period been practically unknown. "Only in very recent times have they appeared, almost like a contagious disease, and with few exceptions it is to the North American Free States and especially to the uncultivated regions of the interior of that country that the Norwegian common people

[2] The commission included in this report a draft of rules which it proposed should be embodied in the provisional order. These rules are similar to a later proposed law which is analyzed *post*, p. 126–134.

have turned their eyes, wishing to win a better livelihood there than they believed they could find in their native land." Emigration in any considerable volume is an occurrence of "the very last few years." The earlier emigration from Stavanger, which led to the later movement is mentioned; but, the commission reports, "First in the year 1836 the migrations began to be more frequent, especially in Stavanger *amt*, until in 1843 in several parts of the kingdom, especially in North Bergenhus, Buskerud, and Bratsberg *amts*, they seem to have reached their high points, since they have been falling off largely during the past year." The commission states that it has made a study of reports from ministers and bailiffs, from surveyors of the customs, and from chiefs of police, those from the latter being the most dependable and complete.

According to the reports from ministers and bailiffs, the total emigration has amounted to 1,565 individuals — 597 men, 476 women, and 492 children. Reports from surveyors of the customs — supplemented by statements from skippers — give a total of 1,599. These totals are "much too small," however, for the police chiefs, basing their reports upon records of passports issued, give a total of 3,940 — 1,451 men, 1,061 women, and 1,428 children. The latter figures are somewhat high, however, for "some travelers may have been included who have not intended to leave the country permanently, and on the other hand some individuals who have requested passports may later have decided to turn back." But the figures are "fairly reliable for approximate figures." The total of about four thousand has been recruited chiefly from the *amts* of North Bergenhus, Buskerud, and Bratsberg, the sources being as follows, respectively: (a) from Nordhorlehn, 504; Sondhordlehn, 156; total, 660; (b) Numedal and Sandsværd, 432; Buskerud *fogderies*, 129; Drammen, 741; total, 1,302; and (c) Upper Telemarken, 1,054; Lower Telemarken and Bamble, 682; Skien and Porsgrund, 102; total, 1,838; grand total, for the three districts, 3,800. The commission also calls attention to the fact that those listed

from the towns of Drammen, Skien, and Porsgrund have come, with few exceptions, from the neighboring land districts of Buskerud and Bratsberg *amts*. Essentially, therefore, the emigration has consisted of country people from the three districts named. Less than 140 individuals — according to these reports — were from the "upper regions of the kingdom."

The figures given above do not include a total of approximately three hundred emigrants who went to America in 1836 and 1837 in the ships "Den Norske Klippe," "Norden," "Enigheden," and "Ægir." A report to the finance department from Stavanger *amt*, dated April 20, 1837, — and summarized in the 1844 report of the emigration commission, — states that the occasion for this emigration must be sought chiefly in the influence of the emigration from Stavanger in 1825. A statement of much interest, based upon the Stavanger report of 1837, follows:

A few of these [*the emigrants of 1825*] came back after a year's time, and a few were hired as seamen, but the greater part of them settled in the interior of the country as farmers. A couple of these returned in 1835 for a visit to their relatives, and they reported that it was much better to live in America, that it was possible to live well in that country without much exertion and labor, that wages were higher, that it was not necessary there to eat oat bread and other such simple foods, but that everyone could have wheat bread, rice pudding, meat, and the like, in abundance. Such a Canaan — so it was reported — naturally would be welcome to many who in these regions have a wretched enough existence.

Many also had connections in America from the first emigration from whom they received reports that all was going well there and encouragement to emigrate to that country. It is especially pointed out in this report that some of the first emigrants professed the beliefs of the Quaker sect, and that this is understood to have been at least a contributory motive for them to move to a land where complete religious freedom prevails. On the contrary it is not believed that political or social conditions here have had any direct influence upon the decision of the later emigrants from Stavanger *amt* in 1836

and 1837, but that these were motivated by the glowing reports that came from the first emigrants about the economic conditions that were offered in a land where they "believed that they could easily find land which they expected they could secure almost for nothing, and that they could as farmers find a better livelihood in the future," — and those who were skilled workers were confident that they could make a success with the accomplishments which they had won for themselves, and it is accordingly reported that there was not the slightest ground for believing that dissatisfaction in political matters caused the later emigrants to leave the country, "with the exception of the few who adhered to the Quaker sect." [3]

After discussing the Stavanger report of 1837 the commission turns to the question of intolerance toward the Quakers and expresses regret "that the principle of religious freedom for all Christian religious sects was not more clearly expressed in paragraph 2 of the constitution or carried through in private legislation." It calls attention to the unfortunate treatment accorded the Quaker sect and cites one specific case. "Meanwhile it must, however, be admitted without question," the report continues, "that even though the first sprouts of the migrations must be sought to a certain extent in imperfections in the law, which have produced dissatisfaction among certain individuals, their growth in recent times is the result of other causes, especially of the common need, affecting the great majority of the emigrants, of seeking a less difficult existence in a new country."

The commission is not prepared to say that the emigration has been brought about "by any absolute lack in the conditions in our native land, either in institutions or in the physical character of the land." It considers it a very reasonable development "that the countries of the Old World by their very progress should in the long run become overpopulated and that the surplus should seek escape to the newly discovered and unsettled parts of the world where one can secure the possession of fertile tracts of land for practically nothing." If, in addi-

[3] Blegen, in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 7: 316–318.

tion to this, "a more healthful climate and richer soil are available there than in the mother country it is undeniable that in this fact alone there lies so great an attraction that neither surprise nor anxiety should be awakened if such emigrations develop." The commission believes that "it is not the political institutions of our country which occasion the desire to leave the country, for they must be considered among the freest in Europe, and the country people — especially in the recent period — seem to have known very well how to exercise their political rights."[4] The commission does not deny, however, that Norway "in physical respects puts obstacles in the way of the mass of the people in their attempt to win a good livelihood without extreme difficulty and trouble." Nor does it deny "that a certain indolence in respect to industry obtains among the Norwegian people with the result that many of our fellow citizens are willing to risk hazards in the hope of winning more successfully than is possible here at home the fruits of the earth and thus securing the necessaries for the demands of life."

To some extent the emigration might be offset, in the opinion of the commission, "by helpful measures on the part of the government, by the encouragement of business in general and agriculture in particular." But the proposals in these respects necessarily would coincide with "what in general should be done for the good of the country," and this naturally lies outside the scope of the commission's work. But it is pointed out that the study of the emigration "might give a clue as to the defects which are present in social and economic conditions." In this connection attention is called "to the possible connection between the first migrations and intolerance toward the separatists." "Similarly the commission, as a result of the fact that the emigrations have occurred espe-

[4] The Norwegian *bönder* under able leadership were fighting a political battle with the official class. To the Storthing of 1842 the elections returned fifty of the official class and forty-two *bönder*. Knut Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian People*, 2:486 (New York, 1915).

cially from those parts of the kingdom where land properties are greatly subdivided, has come to the conclusion that perhaps through legislation a limit should be set upon further subdivision of the land holdings."

Reports of conditions in America, as contained in the letters of emigrants, are stated to be "very incomplete and contradictory." But "they leave no doubt that the destiny which awaits the emigrants is highly uncertain and that for a large number of them it has been a very unhappy one." The discouraging reports, it is indicated, have come especially in the more recent period from people who left Norway "without sufficient resources." The commission further states that such reports "are largely responsible for the fact that the emigration as a whole must now be considered to be declining." On the basis of the emigrant letters which have been examined by the commission it is granted "that those emigrants who have been good people and who have possessed the necessary means not only to purchase an adequate area of land and to clear and cultivate it but also to live on for the first couple of years until the newly cultivated soil can give the needed products, have been satisfied, and this is particularly true of those who have been fortunate enough to select a settlement where malaria has not attacked them and laid them low; but on the contrary the majority of those without means, who have not had special qualifications in some kind of skilled work, have been the victims of great distress." [5]

The commission then attempts to estimate the financial loss brought about through the emigration. It estimates the number of emigrants in the last decade at 4,500, and the value of their possessions on the average at fifty to sixty specie dollars each. Thus "the emigration has brought about a direct loss in national wealth of 225,000 to 270,000 specie dollars." The loss is not regarded as an unbalanced one, however. For

[5] The commission states that "the majority of the emigrants from Tinds parish in upper Telemarken" have been "the victims of a high mortality."

example, "account must be taken of the amount which has come back to the country in transportation costs, since the transportation has been chiefly direct to New York by Norwegian ships." Furthermore, it is suggested, the passenger and freight traffic thus stimulated may have "given the opportunity for more profitably using the American market for the disposal of Norwegian iron products." This in turn may be considered a very good thing for the iron industry and its employees. "Similarly this trade may be the beginning of a more active direct connection with that important part of the world, and this may in the far future have a good influence upon our mercantile and naval conditions." Yet another factor must be given consideration, according to the commission. "Among the majority of the emigrants, so far as can be learned," it is stated, "there has been a considerable proportion of the less industrious and in part useless and discontented citizens." Therefore, "it can hardly be assumed that the emigration has especially weakened the resources of the nation." The commissioners go further and say: "There may even be some question as to whether it has caused any loss at all to society, especially since it is noted, among other things, how the emigration has served to level out certain conditions, for example, to remove the excess population in certain mountain districts, to reduce the disproportionately high costs of land, — as a result of which several broken-up holdings have been brought together again, — and so forth."

The commissioners then raise the question as to whether a law is needed or not. The emigration appears to them to be in process of decline, as "few are getting ready to go." But the reasons for this decline are probably temporary, and it is uncertain "whether the emigration will not spread like an epidemic." Two good years have stimulated Norwegian agriculture and the fishing industry, but on the whole there are great uncertainties in Norwegian agriculture, and if emigration should set in, many people with slender means would certainly go to America. Unfavorable conditions in the

United States, furthermore, have caused many to defer their departure, but better reports are apt to be received before long and the emigration may then develop rapidly. Some officials in the city of Bergen, according to the commissioners, have questioned the advisability of passing the proposed law and have offered three specific criticisms: (1) it would be possible to elude the law by taking indirect routes to America; (2) in enforcing the law it would be difficult to distinguish emigrants from travelers; and (3) people might regard the restrictions embodied in the law as a prohibition of emigration. The commissioners, however, regard the "danger of eluding the law slight as compared with the dangers to society in giving the emigrants an absolutely free hand." Incidentally, the emigrants themselves must not be neglected simply because they have chosen to leave the country. It is pointed out, in this connection, that they are usually ignorant of sanitary questions. Thereupon, in the report, follow the provisions of the proposed emigration law. On March 10, 1845, the finance department recommended to the king that the measure be put before the Storthing for action, and on the same date the king submitted the draft to the national legislature.

Perhaps the best evidence of the government attitude toward the emigration is afforded in the provisions of this bill of 1845. The fact that it was rejected by the Storthing scarcely lessens its interest and importance. Its specific provisions throw light not only upon the problem of emigration as regards the districts which the emigrants left but also upon the conditions of emigration, particularly with reference to ships and passage. It is important, also, to note how the Storthing reacted to the proposed law.

The draft contains thirty-eight clauses, the first seventeen of which relate chiefly to the problem of the emigrant in relation to the country and the home community which he is about to leave. First of all, the right of every citizen to emigrate is recognized, but this right is to be conditioned upon

the provisions of this measure in the interests of both the state and the emigrants (clause 1). Certain classes of people are then forbidden to emigrate (clause 2) without having first received due release or discharge from their duties: officials of the state, and others who occupy service relations to the state even though they hold no royal appointment, for example, special trustees, *executores testamenti;* men who are in military service or who have been called out for military or naval service; and those who are in the salaried official service, for example, parish clerks, schoolmasters, bailiffs, constables, and the like. A similar prohibition extends to persons who occupy salaried positions under, or are responsible to, communes and public institutions — for example, cashiers and other officials of banks and savings banks — or who are responsible for, or in custody of, the accounts of such establishments.

Parents are not permitted (clause 3) to take with them children who are fifteen years of age or older if the latter object; and children between the ages of fifteen and eighteen may not emigrate without the permission of their parents; they must, furthermore, be accompanied by responsible relatives or guardians. If both parents are dead (clause 4) the relatives may not take with them the surviving children under fifteen years of age without the permission of the appointed guardian. A husband (clause 5) is not permitted to emigrate with his wife and children under fifteen years of age against the will of the wife. If he is determined to emigrate, notwithstanding her opposition (clause 6), she has the right to demand a division of their joint estate and to obtain for herself, by means of the law, her own share. If such a division be made, she has the right to obtain — apart from the estimated sum — the permanent improvements which would ordinarily come under the rules of primogeniture and also the necessary means of livelihood. A sufficient sum shall be subtracted from the husband's share of the estate — the sum is to be deposited with the "office for the management of the estates of minors" — to assure the support of any children who are left behind until

they are fifteen years of age and to assure, for the public provision for the poor, the guarantees called for in the next clause of the law. When parents emigrate and leave behind them legitimate children or when a mother leaves illegitimate children under fifteen years of age, they (the parents or the mother) shall be required to set up such security as the poor-law administration of the place shall find necessary to avoid having the children become a burden to the public support of the poor (clause 7). A similar duty rests upon the husband with reference to his wife if she is left behind. An emigrant who leaves illegitimate children (clause 8), as well as one who leaves a divorced wife who receives alimony either by law or by agreement, shall be obliged before his departure to set up such security as the poor-law administration decides to be necessary in order that the payments may be made regularly. He may, if he wishes, pay the entire amount of his obligation to the poor-law administration, which will superintend its later distribution. With reference to the payment of funds due to a minor to its parent who has emigrated with the minor in question, the general law concerning the sending of funds of minors to foreign countries shall be observed (clause 9). These proposed regulations constitute an interesting commentary on some of the possible domestic complications brought about by emigration.

The next clause of the proposed law represents an ingenious attempt to safeguard the interests of the creditors of prospective emigrants. It requires the emigrant to make a public announcement of his intention to emigrate, for the benefit of his creditors. This announcement must be made during the six months before his departure and at least twelve weeks before that event. It must be printed in the newspaper of the place where he has last lived, or, if there is none in that town, in that of the nearest town having one. If the prospective emigrant lives in the country the announcement is to be made in the church to which he belongs. The public announcement

is unnecessary, however, in case the emigrant shall satisfy the proper public authorities that he has made arrangements which assure the meeting of all legal demands upon him.

Those liable to military service (clause 11) and who have been enlisted for line service or have gone over to the militia or have been enlisted for naval service cannot be discharged from the armed forces to emigrate except with the permission of the king or an authorized deputy. Nor can men liable to military service who have been excused because they hold civil positions or teach school emigrate without such permission. Those who have not been called to fulfill their military duty need not secure special permission to emigrate unless the king in time of war should forbid the emigration of all men liable to military service who are on the rolls of line troops from their twentieth year or who have been enrolled for sea service from their sixteenth year (clause 12). If an emigrant who has enlisted for line service or entered in the militia or who had been excused from service in his capacity as a teacher or civil officer shall return to the kingdom, he shall be required to serve out the remaining time of his service. Nevertheless, he shall not be required to give line service beyond his thirty-second year or militia service beyond his thirty-seventh. Other emigrants who return before the expiration of their military-service age shall be liable not only to enlistment in the regular legal order but also to preference for such enlistment (clause 13).

Only the proper authorities in the place where the emigrant has last resided shall issue a passport to him (clause 14), and they shall see to it that the regulations in the emigration law are met before the passport is issued. Persons who are guardians (clause 15) or who have not yet fulfilled their military service (clause 16) must have certificates from the proper authorities. Furthermore, before the passport is made out, the police officer shall see to it (clause 17) that the emigrant has received an emigration certificate from the pastor of his district.

Most of the remaining twenty-one clauses of the measure relate to emigrant ships and the conditions of the ocean journey. They represent, broadly speaking, a proposed attempt on the part of the state to protect the emigrant himself from the outstanding evils connected with emigration. No ship intended to be used for carrying passengers from any port in Norway directly to lands outside Europe must carry more than one person for each commercial last of the ship's tonnage, the skipper and the crew not included in the estimate (clause 18). Ships which have American bills of admeasurement, however, the passengers of which are without exception bound for the United States, may, upon the skipper's or captain's own risk, carry two persons for each five tons, the skipper and the crew not included.[6]

With reference to the room in the ships (clause 19), the following space shall be allotted to each passenger: (a) in the steerage at least ten square feet if the ship does not pass through the tropics, but twelve if it goes to the tropics and the journey is estimated at fourteen weeks, and fifteen square feet if the journey is to last more than fourteen weeks; and (b) on the orlop deck, thirty square feet for every passenger. The clause specifies that the space thus provided for the passenger must be entirely free from encumbrance, save the passenger's own effects and the bed. On ships carrying passengers to other European countries who are bound for "fremmede Verdensdele," that is, other parts of the world, the space allotted each passenger in the steerage shall be at least six square feet and on the "Naierdæk" at least twelve. The total number of passengers on such ships (clause 20), excluding the skipper and the crew, may be in proportion to two for each commercial last of the ship's tonnage. In assigning space (clause 21), two children under twelve years of age shall be considered as one passenger and children under one year shall be left out

[6] This was in accord with a provision in the American immigration law of March 2, 1819.

of consideration. This provision, however, shall not apply to ships bound for the United States.

In the next clause (22) provision is made for safeguarding passengers from dangers connected with the overloading of ships with merchandise. It is specified that a ship carrying its full allotment of passengers and also a cargo of merchandise must not be loaded with (a) light goods the stowage room of which is reckoned according to volume, to a greater extent than two-thirds of the full cargo, or (b) with heavy goods which are reckoned according to weight, so that the ship shall be weighed down more than two-thirds of the distance between the water line when the ship is empty and the water line when it is loaded with a full cargo of heavy goods, or (c) with anything harmful to the health of the passengers. If the number of passengers is less than the total permitted, the amount of merchandise carried may be increased proportionately. The passenger deck, cooking facilities, and equipment in general (clause 23) must be dependable and solid. In the matter of sleeping accommodations, each bunk — for one passenger — shall be at least five and one-half feet in length and one and one-half in width, not more than three such bunks shall be placed side by side, and there must be at least eighteen inches between the bunks. If the bunks are built in tiers there must be at least two feet between the tiers; and bunks with three feet of space between tiers must be provided for one-eighth of the total number of passengers on board — to be used, in case of need, for the sick. [7]

No ship of less than forty commercial lasts may be used for the direct transportation of emigrants to foreign parts of the world, cabin passengers and the families of the skipper and captain excepted. If ships of forty to sixty commercial lasts

[7] The provisions as to sleeping accommodations are interesting as an index to the crowded conditions which ordinarily obtained upon emigrant ships. In this connection see the documents on "The Early Emigrant Ships and Attempted Regulation of Steerage Conditions, 1751–1882," published in Edith Abbott, *Immigration: Select Documents and Case Records*, 6–58 (Chicago, 1924).

carry both freight and passengers (clause 24) they should not be loaded with more than half a cargo measured by volume, or, measured by weight, with goods weighing the ship down to more than half the distance between the water line when the ship is empty and the water line when the ship is fully loaded.

The commander of the ship (clause 25) must furnish the passengers with good water and must supply good, wholesome food to those passengers who have engaged board for the passage. Calculations as to supplies must be made with due regard to the number of passengers to be boarded and the length of the voyage, according to the following amounts per week for each individual: (1) twenty-one quarts of water; (2) seven pounds of bread; (3) one pound of butter; (4) three pounds of meat; (5) one and one-half pounds of salt pork; (6) three quarts of barley groats; (7) two quarts of peas; and (8) an ample amount of greens and vegetables if possible. For provisions easily spoiled in hot weather, other nourishing and good foods may be substituted, for example, "food oil" for butter, or rice and beans for barley groats and peas. The provisioning shall be based upon the following time schedule for voyages (clause 26): (1) to North Africa and North America, but not to the west coast of the latter country, twelve weeks; (2) to the West Indies, twelve weeks; (3) to the Gulf of Mexico, Central and South America, but not to the western coast of South America, fourteen weeks; (4) to the west coast of Africa, fourteen weeks; (5) to the Cape of Good Hope or the Falkland Islands, seventeen weeks; (6) to places in the Indian Ocean, twenty weeks; and (7) to places in the Pacific Ocean, twenty-four weeks. The commander of the vessel is also obligated, in case those passengers who furnish their own board do not have enough to last them through the voyage, to supply them with the food they need; and for this service he is to receive adequate compensation. The ship authorities, furthermore, must have an adequate supply of medicines and take every precaution in the interest

of cleanliness and sanitary conditions on board during the journey (clause 27). No spirituous liquors are to be sold on board ship (clause 28).

Before an emigrant ship may sail it must be examined by the police and by other authorized officials appointed to test its seaworthiness, its equipment, its supplies, and its general readiness for emigrant service. No clearance papers shall be issued until after such inspection (clause 29). The skipper must prepare two lists of the passengers, giving the names of the emigrants, totals of adults of both sexes, the number of children under twelve years, and the number of children under one year. One of these is to be forwarded by the police to the central government. Furthermore, before clearance papers are issued the skipper must present to the customs officers a certificate from the police stating that the provisions of the present law have been observed. The skipper is also obligated (clause 30) to deposit with the customs officials a sum of money (not under three hundred specie dollars or more than one thousand, the exact amount to be determined upon the basis of eight dollars for each commercial last) as security for the payment of any fine for violation of the regulations and for the payment of legitimate claims against the ship by passengers. The second list of passengers (clause 31) is to be returned to the skipper when clearance papers are issued and by him is to be presented to the Norwegian-Swedish consul or agent at the port of destination, together with a report on the time of passage, health conditions, and mortality during the voyage. The consul or agent shall send this list at once to the Norwegian government and also forward a report on complaints from passengers, discrepancies between the passenger list and the actual number of arrivals, and similar matters. The consul is to "give all possible aid and advice to the passengers with respect to their further journeys unless the passengers object to such guidance"; and to act as arbiter in disputes among the passengers as well as between the passengers and the skipper. If any

emigrant has been wronged (clause 32) the consul shall help him to secure legal redress and report the case to the Norwegian government. In the case of the death on board ship of an emigrant unaccompanied by relatives, the consul is to take charge of his effects, which are to be disposed of in accordance with the Norwegian inheritance laws (clause 33).

One of the most interesting clauses in the entire proposed law is that by which the officials of the ship are made responsible for keeping the emigrant from becoming a public burden after his arrival in a foreign country. The ship authorities must see to it (clause 34) that the emigrant, if he leave the ship at some port outside Europe, have a sum of at least fifteen specie dollars, or, if he leave the ship at a European port, have not less than forty specie dollars. Children under twelve years of age must have at their command at least half of the indicated sum. Presumably it was intended that no emigrant should be accepted for the passage who could not satisfy the skipper of the ship that he had the minimum amount of money required by this clause. Passengers must not be landed against their will at any other than the place for which they have purchased passage. They are to have forty-eight hours in which to leave the ship at the port of destination (clause 35).

The last three clauses of the measure relate to the public posting of copies of the law and the giving to emigrants of printed leaflets about sanitary regulations on board ship (clause 36), exemptions of certain types of ships from the foregoing rules (clause 37), and penalties for violation of the law. Violations of the law are punishable by a fine of twenty to two hundred specie dollars in addition to the payment of damages.

Whatever may be thought of the practicability of the restrictions embodied in this proposed law, it is clear that it represents an honest effort to protect both the emigrant and the home community from the dangers of unregulated emigration. On the whole the measure was both liberal and

comprehensive. The most novel part of the scheme is embodied in its first clauses. Their weakness lies in the fact that they become entangled in the whole complicated system of Norwegian civil law. But at any rate they represent a courageous attempt to deal with a novel set of domestic problems. It is of special interest to students of American immigration to know that the measure was drafted by a commission of experts who had made a thoroughgoing study of the Norwegian emigration. The provisions of the intended law cover the needs of the situation as they saw it. The measure was introduced by the ministry in the Odelsthing, the larger branch of the Storthing, and was referred to the committee on trade, the members of which were A. M. Schweigaard and Hans P. Jensen. After a careful examination of the proposition this committee returned the measure to the Odelsthing on May 26, 1845. The committee first called attention to the difference between the two main parts of the bill. The first seventeen clauses were designated as regulations to protect the public generally and to prevent impositions by the emigrants upon others, whereas the remaining clauses were intended to afford protection to the emigrants themselves. The finance department originally planned only such supervision as the second part of the measure provided and the committee believed that it would be wise thus to limit the regulation. It further recommended that the law be strictly limited to emigration to lands outside Europe. The real problems of immigration, the committee believed, were concerned with the mass emigration to countries outside Europe. It was this type of emigration which involved special dangers to the health and life of the emigrant and it was entirely proper, therefore, to make this movement the object of special legislation. It was manifestly improper, in the committee's opinion, to produce rules regarding emigration to other European states — for example, to Denmark — out of conditions brought about by the emigration to America. Should a general regulatory law be passed, applying both to the home

situation and to the conditions of the journey, it would be necessary to go into the very foundations of civil law, for example, the marriage laws, and this the committee considered unwise. Only a few points from the detailed criticisms in the report need to be mentioned here. The danger that public officials will give up their offices in order to emigrate is considered slight. Parents are not apt to leave their children behind them when they leave for America. In some cases, perhaps it is the woman who refuses to go with her husband to America who is at fault. A public announcement of the intended emigration would probably be a good thing, for when thousands of people leave, it is inevitable that some of them should be debtors. But an honest man with an established place in the community would find it difficult to keep his plans for emigration secret; and the irresponsible debtor could probably evade the law in any event. The clauses relating to the military service are considered unnecessary.

The second part of the proposed law is compared to the English emigration law of 1842.[8] The committee points out that emigration conditions in Norway are not unlike those which made legislation necessary in England. Ships have been too heavily loaded; there have been sickness and suffering and in some cases typhus has been reported; and there is danger that ships will not carry adequate supplies of water. The committee believes that the emigration is not a passing phenomenon; it probably will continue to develop, perhaps on a smaller scale, but on a surer foundation. The immigrants in the United States will undoubtedly come to the aid of prospective emigrants and make the emigration even more inviting than before. The upshot of the committee's reasoning is that legislation should be restricted to the protection of the emigrant and it therefore advised the passage of a

[8] For a brief summary of the English act of 1842 see Stanley C. Johnson, *A History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, 1763–1912*, 112 (London, 1913). Compare also the same author's discussion of the English act of 1835, and his valuable chapter on the transport of emigrants (p. 101–130).

"Law Regarding Passenger Traffic to Foreign Parts of the World," and drafted a bill in ten sections, based essentially upon clauses 18 to 38 of the law proposed by the commission, but with numerous changes in details. One passage of the committee's report deserves quotation:

> In the opinion of the committee there are two classes of emigrants, the one consisting of people who believe that the Scriptural injunction, "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread," applies to only one part of the world and not to another, and who, therefore, listening to exaggerated reports about the Paradise on the other side of the ocean, leave their homes without definite plans, without adequate funds to maintain them through the first period, and without connections in the new home which they seek. The second class consists of persons who do not decide to seek homes in distant America before they have weighed the difficulties and hardships of a settler's life but who nevertheless accept the prospects for economic well-being open to them, since they can become masters of fruitful lands by doing little more than ask for them.

The committee believed that the first class would diminish, but that the second could be expected to increase.

An interesting debate occurred in the Odelsthing on June 5, 1845, after the trade committee had reported out the revised bill.[9] It was opened by Nicolaysen, who moved that the bill be tabled. Such a law, he said, was unnecessary both from the state's and from the emigrant's side. Up to 1845 emigrants had not cost the state treasury more than a paltry forty-five specie dollars. The emigrants, in his opinion, were sufficiently protected by the fact that the emigrant ships were good ships; and the restrictions in the proposed law, he believed, would cause these good ships to withdraw from the trade. This would force the emigrants to go by way of Göteborg or some other Swedish port where no such regulations were in force. Some of the provisions in the law were

[9] The summary of this debate given in *Storthings-Efterretninger 1836–1854*, 2:762–764, is based upon contemporary newspaper reports printed in the Christiania papers, *Morgenbladet*, 1845, no. 167, and *Den Constitutionelle*, 1845, no. 157.

made unnecessary, he added, by the American laws, which covered the situation.

An argument for the law was advanced by A. M. Schweigaard, a member of the trade committee and a prominent leader of the Storthing.[10] He urged its passage because the American laws contained nothing on the two most crucial points of all: the seagoing quality of the ship and guarantees of an adequate supply of drinking water for the emigrants. To give the passengers sufficient room on the ship was futile if the ship was so heavily loaded that it became necessary in heavy seas to close the portholes and thus shut off the supply of pure air. It was even more important to guarantee the supply of drinking water. Another speaker, Borchsenius, supported Schweigaard's views, and called attention to the losses which local communities sustained through receiving poverty-stricken emigrants back again and being forced to support them. But these losses, he said, represented only one side of the matter; the other was the pitiful condition of the emigrants themselves. That the conditions on board ships were often very bad he brought out by reading passages from letters of emigrants telling about the ocean voyage.

An interesting turn to the discussion was given by a speaker bearing the aristocratic Norwegian name of Falsen. He spoke chiefly about the background of the movement, and his analysis of its causes is of special interest as revealing the point of view of an upper-class official. He looked upon the emigration as a disheartening spectacle and bewailed the fact that the country's inhabitants, who were famed for their love of country, should now — after thirty years under a free constitution, which had yielded excellent fruits — desert their country and flock to the New World. The inhabitants of the country, he said, were too often without training in the virtues of industry and orderly conduct. They were allowed to roam from place to place, to dabble in trade, and to peddle goods. When a man with such a background was placed in charge

[10] For an interesting characterization of Schweigaard, see Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian People*, 2: 486–489.

of a farm he was not "steady" enough to use it wisely, and poverty was apt to fall to his lot. The speaker indicated that the changes in financial conditions caused by the war from 1807 to 1814 had considerably influenced the situation. People were extravagant in flush times. When conditions became stabilized, their extravagant desires remained, but it was no longer easy to get money. Without considering the needs of the future, they tilled the soil unwisely, with the result that they got poorer crops each year. They borrowed money, fell into the clutches of money lenders, and lost their credit. Property was broken up, small patches of land were sold, and the money thus gained was squandered. An added cause of general misery was the great use of intoxicating liquors. The result of it all, according to Falsen, was emigration to America. In his opinion, high taxes, large salaries paid to officials, and the conduct of public officials had no effect upon the emigration. Probably it would be a long time before the general condition of the common people would improve and meanwhile the emigration was bound to continue. The speaker declared himself in favor of the emigration law. "If these emigrating citizens turn their backs on the fatherland," he said, "the country should not turn its back on them, but should protect their lives and their happiness as far as possible."

One speaker suggested that the Norwegian-Swedish chargé d'affaires in America should be required to submit a true, official report on American conditions as a means of counteracting the false reports that were prevalent.[11] Before a vote was taken a number of other speakers voiced their opposition to the proposed law. Nicolaysen's motion to table the measure was then carried and the matter was therefore dropped.

Thus came to an end the Norwegian attempt to regulate emigration in the forties. It is obvious that the Storthing did

[11] An account of the Norwegian settlements in the West in 1847, by Consul General Adam Lövenskjold, who visited the settlements in the summer of that year and drew up a report to the government, was published at Bergen in 1848. An English translation of this valuable document was brought out by Dr. Knut Gjerset in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 8:77–88 (September, 1924).

not realize the seriousness of the situation or grasp the fundamental causes upon which the emigration rested. As the movement continued to develop and the volume of emigration to increase, the need of legislation became more imperative, and eighteen years later Norway passed a law not essentially different from the measure proposed by the trade committee to the Odelsthing in 1845.[12] The investigation of 1843–45 brought together a considerable body of facts regarding the movement, called official attention to the migration as a whole, paved the way for later legislation, and — for the student of today — furnished an illuminating source of information on the Norwegian background of the emigration from 1825 to 1845. Its significance is by no means limited to the field of Norwegian immigration, however. From a somewhat broader point of view it makes available a considerable mass of illustrative material for the general history of American immigration and its Old World backgrounds. In one of his stimulating essays Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger declares that "the two grand themes of American history are, properly, the influence of immigration upon American life and institutions, and the influence of the American environment, especially the frontier in early days and the industrial integration of more recent times, upon the ever-changing composite population." If this is a true interpretation of our national development, it is obviously a matter of first importance to subject to careful analysis the records which will help to piece out "the story of the successive waves of immigration and of the adaptation of the newcomers and their descendants to the new surroundings offered by the Western Hemisphere."[13]

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[12] A regulatory law, relating to the conditions of the ocean journey, was passed by the Norwegian Storthing in 1863, and approved on May 23 of that year.

[13] Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History*, I, 2 (New York, 1922).

THE INFLUENCE OF THE MINNEAPOLIS FLOUR MILLS UPON THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF MINNESOTA AND THE NORTHWEST[1]

In the *St. Anthony Express* of October 8, 1852, there appears the following news item: "A new Grist Mill has just been erected by Mr. Rogers, adjoining the Saw Mills, next to Main St. It is to be put in operation at once, Mr. R. having gone below for the machinery. This will be a great advantage to our village and the adjoining country, as there has been a large quantity of grain raised this season in this vicinity. Let it be understood that we can make good flour, and production will be so stimulated, that we shall have no need to import any more flour." This mill of Richard Rogers, together with the old government mill on the opposite side of the river, then operated by Calvin Tuttle, marks the beginning of the far-famed Minneapolis flour mills. Almost three-quarters of a century has passed since that day. In that time the number of mills has grown to more than a score and they produce fully one-seventh of the total American flour output.

To deal exhaustively with the subject of this paper, it would be necessary to write an economic history of the Northwest. Scarcely any industry or economic group has remained uninfluenced by the milling industry. The present discussion will therefore be confined to those economic developments most directly and deeply influenced by it. The following topics will be considered: (1) flour milling in relation to the lumber industry, (2) the millers and the development of transportation, (3) the flour mills and the organization of the grain trade, (4) flour milling and financial organization, (5) the growth of related manufactures, and (6) the millers and agricultural development.

[1] A paper read on January 19 at the seventy-sixth annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society.

LUMBER

Four years before Richard Rogers built his gristmill, Franklin Steel had dammed the east channel of the Mississippi just above the Falls of St. Anthony and erected a group of sawmills. St. Anthony was soon a thriving village. Tributary to it were many logging camps. To the north and east were scattered farmers and traders. All these required to be supplied with flour and feed. The *St. Anthony Express* of January 21, 1853, complains of a shortage of teams in the pineries of the Rum River, "there not being farmers enough here to supply what is consumed in the Territory. All the provisions that go into the pineries have to be brought from points on the Mississippi, some hundreds of miles below, then landed at St. Paul, and trucked to St. Anthony, at which place the logging teams now obtain their supplies."

We may say then, that it was the local market provided by the lumber industry, together with the water power of St. Anthony, which caused the building of the first flour mills. In 1854 a larger mill was built, but its owners found so little wheat being raised in Minnesota that they had to bring supplies in by steamer from Illinois and Iowa. Nevertheless they persevered in their efforts and in 1859 were ready to send flour out of the state. By that time farmers were coming to St. Anthony from as far north as St. Cloud and as far south as Mankato and camping out on the island below the site of the Pillsbury A Mill, waiting for days to have their grain ground.

As the possibilities of profit in flour milling revealed themselves in the following decades (1860–80), many of the pioneer lumbermen shifted over to the milling industry, bringing large supplies of capital as well as great business ability with them. The very rapid growth of the flour mills in that period would have been impossible otherwise. The names of only a few of these can be mentioned here. There were J. C. Berry, who operated the old City Mill, once the old government sawmill; Leonard Day, who built the Zenith and the Palisade flour

mills; Governor John S. Pillsbury, who purchased the Anchor Mill and first fitted it out as a flour mill; Curtis H. Pettit of Pettit, Robinson, and Company; William P. Ankeny of the Galaxy Mill; and John Martin, first president of the Northwestern Consolidated Milling Company. Then there were Joel B. Bassett, builder of the Columbia Mill; Dorilus Morrison, who built the Standard and the Excelsior mills; and William D. Washburn, builder of the Lincoln Mill at Anoka. Governor Cadwallader C. Washburn, founder of Washburn-Crosby Company, was also a lumberman, though his activities in that line were confined to Wisconsin. By 1876 probably a majority of those who were operating flour mills in Minneapolis had had previous experience in lumbering. This does not mean that lumbering was the sole source of capital for the early flour mills. There were many others, some of which will be discussed in another connection. The close relationship between the two industries, however, needs to be emphasized. The lumbermen helped to build up flour milling first, by providing a local market at the start; second, by providing supplies of capital as expansion became desirable; and third, by combining with the millers to secure favorable transportation and banking conditions for their products.

Transportation

The great growth of the flour mills came during the period from 1870 to 1890. At the beginning of the period the mills were producing perhaps two hundred thousand barrels of flour annually — at the end, seven million. By 1890 Minneapolis was the leading milling center not only of the United States, but of the world. Such an expansion of production called for a corresponding extension both of the area from which raw materials were drawn and of that to which the finished product was sold. This extension involved two great economic developments — the organization of a wheat-marketing system which would draw the wheat of the entire Northwest to Minneapolis, and the development of a transportation system which

would supply adequate service both eastward to the great consuming centers and westward into the wheat fields.

At first the millers were concerned mainly with the problem of transportation to the eastern markets, and they attempted to get steamships to come up the river to the falls, instead of stopping at St. Paul. Even after rail connections with Milwaukee and Chicago were completed in 1867 these efforts did not cease, for the millers wished to play off the St. Louis commission men against those of the lake ports. The *Minneapolis Daily Tribune,* in its issues of May 6 and 7, 1869, argued for the need of lines of river steamers as a defense against railroad monopoly. These should include not only ships to carry the flour down the Mississippi so that there would be a choice of several routes to the East, but also boats on the St. Croix and the Minnesota to bring in the wheat. But the popular enthusiasm for steamship service died down when it was learned that the steamship owners were combining with the railroads to fix rates. In any case the direct rail connection with Chicago provided a service that the river steamers could not equal. After that was established, though there seem to have been occasional river shipments as late as 1880, the Milwaukee-Chicago shipments went mainly by rail.

Long before that the millers had turned their attention to the Lake Superior route. A railroad had been completed from St. Paul to Duluth in 1870. The millers tried to get the southern terminus at St. Anthony, and, failing in that, built a line of their own to a connection with the Duluth line at White Bear (the beginning of the Minneapolis and St. Louis line). As soon as this was done they began to direct shipments to the Lake Superior route, and they put steamers on the lake. George Christian, who at that time operated the Washburn mills, stated in 1872 that the millers were shipping three-fourths of their flour to the eastern market by way of Duluth. Probably the proportion was not always so great, but they could and did use this alternative route as a club over the Chicago lines to extort lower rates.

The Chicago lines fought back as best they could. If the millers did not give them a fair share of the business, they offered lower rates to the East on wheat than on flour; or they sent their own buyers into the wheat fields, bought up the wheat, and let the millers have it only on condition that they shipped their flour via Chicago. In any case, the lake was frozen a good part of the year and during those months the millers were at the mercy of the railroads.

It was this situation which resulted in the building of the Soo Line. Governor Israel Washburn of Maine as early as 1873 urged its construction in an address to the Minneapolis Board of Trade. It would free Minneapolis from the dominance of the Chicago railroads, which were hostile to the milling interests; it would give a shorter route to the Atlantic coast; and it would open up a rich territory in Wisconsin and Michigan naturally tributary to Minneapolis. The flour export trade was not yet developed, hence he did not mention the advantage of a shorter route to Europe with a choice of ports and steamship lines which would assure competitive rates. The *Northwestern Miller* ridiculed the plan in an editorial published in its issue for June 13, 1879, under the title, "The North Pole Railway." But in 1887 the line was completed to Sault Ste. Marie; through service to Boston and Montreal was inaugurated with the Canadian Pacific Railroad, and in its second year the Soo Line carried more flour to the East than any other railroad. There can be no question that it was a millers' enterprise. W. D. Washburn was its first president and most of the directors were prominent millers.

In the building of the railroads leading into the wheat fields, there is not the same clear evidence of conscious effort on the part of the millers. The westward expansion of the Soo Line was doubtless largely due to their efforts. The building of the Minneapolis and St. Louis Railroad seems to have been a combined millers and lumbermen's enterprise — on the millers' part a desire to intercept wheat supplies that were going to Milwaukee and Chicago mills. Here too, the first board of

directors was largely made up of millers. And while they seem to have had no such dominant part in the westward expansion of the Great Northern, the Northern Pacific, and the Milwaukee railroads, yet their organization of the grain trade tended to draw the wheat of the Northwest to Minneapolis and the railroads were compelled to build accordingly. Summarizing, we may say that in the growth of the Twin Cities as a railroad center, the Minneapolis milling business was a prominent factor; and in the cases of the Soo Line and the Minneapolis and St. Louis, the millers had a dominant part in the building of the roads and benefited directly by their success.

GRAIN MARKETING

The westward extension of the railroads was both cause and effect of an expansion of the wheat-growing area which raised new problems of marketing, financing, and storing. The growth of the elevator system lagged behind the advance of the wheat area. As late as 1879 when the mills were using seven million bushels annually, there were only two elevators in Minneapolis, storing only 215,000 bushels. In part this was due to the fact that the mills took almost all the wheat, and only a small quantity was shipped east. But the mills had little storage space of their own. They preferred to go into the country districts and buy the wheat as they needed it. In doing so they often faced severe competition with one another and with Milwaukee-Chicago buyers, especially in the spring of the year when supplies were low. To get around this, they organized the Minneapolis Millers' Association. The date of its formation is unknown, but certainly it was organized before 1869. In 1876 it was formally incorporated. Essentially it was a buying pool of all the Minneapolis mills, with William H. Dunwoody as the active head. He controlled the buyers at all interior points and dictated the prices they should pay. He parcelled out the wheat to the different mills on its arrival in Minneapolis. For a time the

association had a practical monopoly in most of Minnesota. "It is well understood," writes a contributor to the St. Paul and Minneapolis *Pioneer Press* for October 5, 1878, "that the Millers' Association will not let any outside buyers come in to compete with them, that they will run up the prices on them so as to drive them out." The farmers therefore began to complain of low prices for their wheat. Their principal complaint, however, was over the system of grading by which, they claimed, their number 2 wheat was being graded down to number 3 or number 4 by the swindling brass tester.

The differences between millers and farmers came to a head in the "brass-kettle" campaign of 1878. W. D. Washburn was the regular Republican candidate for Congress from the large district which included Minneapolis. The farmers supported Ignatius Donnelly against him. Donnelly made the fight on the Millers' Association. The farmers demanded first, that the brass tester be done away with; second, that the millers pay for the wheat according to its milling value; and third, that the inspectors of grain be independent of the Millers' Association. The millers could hardly deny that they were monopolizing the wheat, but they did deny that they were depressing prices unduly and claimed that they had nothing to do with the grading, as that was taken care of by the elevator men.

The farmers were beaten in the election, but the episode led to the establishment of a state system of grading and inspection in 1885. In the meantime the millers, mindful of the fact that the misdeeds of the elevator men were laid at their door, began to build or otherwise acquire elevators of their own — both chains of country houses and terminal elevators in Minneapolis. Thus a very considerable increase in elevator capacity occurred in the eighties. The millers were then in a position to buy the farmer's wheat in the fall when he was eager to sell.

New conditions were making the millers' monopoly untenable, however. For one thing the millers found that they could no longer rely solely on spring wheat. As early as 1880 com-

plaints were made that Minnesota wheats were deteriorating in quality and yield. The farmers tried to increase their yields by planting softer varieties, but these, the millers claimed, were of poor milling quality. They tried to raise standards by offering a premium on Red Fife, but with little success. On the other hand, the advance of milling technique had taught them the advantages of blending many different varieties of wheat. Consequently they began to purchase in widely separated sections of the country. And finally the opening up of the Dakotas brought in more wheat than the millers could use.

By this time there had arisen a class of grain merchants in Minneapolis who bought wheat for eastern mills. At first they were handicapped by lack of storage facilities and by the opposition of the millers. This led them to organize the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce in 1881. At first the millers opposed this organization, but it did not take them very long to see its advantages. The Millers' Association was dissolved and the millers went over to the chamber. From 1883 to 1894 all the presidents of the chamber were selected from the milling interests.

Meanwhile changes had been taking place with regard to the country elevators. While the fight against the Millers' Association was on, many farmers' elevator companies had been started, but they were badly organized and badly managed and most of them failed. For a time the field was controlled by the line elevator companies. Having large capital, they controlled both terminal elevators and country houses. They owned seats on the exchange and could dispense with the services of brokers. Often they had financial connections with the railroads and could secure special rates. In one way or another they drove out the independent elevator men and then had the farmers at their mercy. They dictated prices to them and also were accused of manipulating grades to secure illegitimate profits. This led to a new rebellion of the farmers, a drastic regulation of elevators in 1892, and a renewed building

of farmers' coöperative elevators. In recent years the farmers' elevators have gained ground so rapidly that they now market almost half of the wheat in Minnesota. They sell it, however, largely on the Minneapolis Exchange. On the whole, farmers, grain merchants, and millers are coming closer together and there are hopes of a better understanding among them.

During the years from 1880 to 1900 the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce became the chief grain market of the Northwest. The great line elevator companies made their headquarters there. At first it was purely a cash market, but after 1890 future sales developed greatly. By 1901 it ranked second to Chicago among the grain exchanges of the country. Up to 1881 — the year the Chamber of Commerce was established — practically all the wheat shipped to Minneapolis was milled there. In no year up to that date were more than two hundred thousand bushels shipped out. In 1882 two million bushels were shipped; in 1884, four million; in 1886, six million; in 1888, twelve million; in 1891, twenty-one million. At the same time there was a large increase in elevator storage capacity. In 1883 it was two and a half million bushels; in 1885, nearly ten million; and in 1890, sixteen million. By that date the city claimed to be the greatest primary wheat market of the world.

On the whole the millers have benefited by the growth of this new marketing organization. Now that they buy their wheat on the exchange, where they must meet the competition of the outside millers and the grain-shippers, they can, of course, no longer control prices. On the other hand, they have a wider choice in wheat buying; they need no longer confine themselves to the wheat of a particular area and risk having to shut down when the crop in that area is bad. Moreover they know that they are dealing with responsible people and run no risk of legal difficulties over the grain they buy. They can buy over a larger area and thus are freer to blend their wheats to best advantage. Thus they are perfectly willing to depend on the Chamber of Commerce.

FINANCIAL ORGANIZATION

The development of Minneapolis as the chief grain market of the Northwest was an important factor in making it also the financial center. The mills now grind normally about seventy-five million bushels of wheat each year. About forty million more are received and shipped by the elevators. Much of this wheat is rushed to the market in the months following the harvest, and therefore the millers and grain men must purchase and store the grain until it is needed for grinding. Since they must pay for it in cash, they require seventy-five or a hundred million dollars of working capital during those months to finance operations.

Naturally they turn first to the Minneapolis banks. As early as 1883 Minneapolis bank clearings averaged four or five million dollars higher during the last four months of the year than during the other eight. Most of this increase was due to the financing of the grain movement. By 1913 this expansion of clearings for the months after the harvest averaged ten million dollars a week. The millers and grain merchants sell their grain paper to the banks — perhaps borrowing on the warehouse receipts as collateral — and with the proceeds purchase more grain. The bank in turn rediscounts the millers' notes with eastern banks and thereby draws more money to Minneapolis with which to purchase more grain. As millers and grain merchants become nationally known their grain paper is purchased by commercial paper houses all over the United States. Thus enormous financial resources are concentrated in Minneapolis during these months. As early as 1889 the *Annual Report* of the Chamber of Commerce contains the statement that "nearly all the money paid for grain in the interior is sent from this city by elevator companies and millers to their agents in the country. Thus, Minneapolis is not only the market to which the grain is shipped, and where it is sold, but the financial center from which the money is sent to purchase and move the grain crops of the Northwest."

The millers, therefore, have been a very important factor in the growth of Minneapolis as a banking center. The principal banks have been largely organized and controlled by the milling interests of the city. The First National Bank, for example, originated in the private bank of J. K. Sidle, whose firm owned and operated the old Northwestern Mill. Since its organization as a national bank in 1864 the principal milling firms have all been represented on its board of directors. The same thing is true of the Northwestern National Bank, organized in 1872, the Hennepin Savings, the Farmers and Mechanics Savings, and various other banks. The millers' sales of short-term commercial paper were aided by the establishment of a number of strong commercial paper houses in the Twin Cities. Minneapolis is also said to be the chief farm mortgage center in the United States. Doubtless it was this financial leadership which induced the organization committee of the Federal Reserve system to locate the ninth district bank in Minneapolis. That leadership seems to have grown directly out of the milling leadership of the city.

Manufactures

When an industry develops to the size and importance of Minneapolis flour milling, it is bound to affect, in some degree, almost all the other industries of the city. Minneapolis is the jobbing center of the Northwest, primarily because the Northwest's wheat is sold there. Though the sawmills no longer operate, Minneapolis remains the lumber market of the Northwest, not because of its former eminence in lumber manufacture, but because the Northwest must buy where it sells. The same reasoning explains why the city has taken such a lead in the farm tractor industry.

Certain industries, however, are more directly the creation of the milling industry, either because they supply its needs or because they use its products as raw materials. Take for example the bag and barrel factories. In the olden days ship-

ments to the eastern markets were made mainly in barrels. Then the export trade brought in the jute bag, and the increasing cost of the barrel caused the substitution of cotton and paper bags. Next to St. Louis, Minneapolis leads in the bag industry, and from two-thirds to three-fourths of its product is taken by the flour mills. In the manufacture of milling machinery the fact that there were old, well-established firms at Milwaukee (E. P. Allis), Indianapolis (Nordyke-Marmon), and Buffalo (John T. Noye) limited the growth of Minneapolis. There is only one notable firm in this business in the city.

Turning to the industries for which the flour mills provide raw materials, we note first the manufacturing of biscuits and crackers. This is a business suited to large investments and large-scale production. There are at least two important factories in Minneapolis as well as several in the Midway district, but they seem to have located in the latter place mainly because of distributive advantages. The spring wheat flour, being primarily a bread flour, is not so well adapted to the making of biscuits and crackers, hence these firms are said to secure most of their supplies from the millers in the winter wheat area. Minneapolis has, however, attained considerable importance in the manufacture of breakfast foods, beginning with the establishment of the Pettijohn California Breakfast Food Company in 1893 (afterwards absorbed by the Quaker Oats Company), the Fruen Cereal Company in 1894, and the Cream of Wheat Company, which came to Minneapolis in 1897. All of them to a greater or less degree are dependent on the flour mills for their raw materials. At first the flour mills themselves kept out of this line of business, since the breakfast-food manufacturers increased sales by attacking white flour. The millers, of course, retaliated by showing up the weaknesses of breakfast foods. Naturally they could not, with good grace, go into the manufacture of breakfast foods themselves. But after the war-time food administration forced them into the manufacture of a great variety of other flours,— whole wheat, rye, and barley, for example,— it was

easier for them to enter the breakfast-food field and they are engaging in this industry to a considerable extent.

Agriculture

When it comes to the question of the relations of the millers to agriculture there is not much we can say. The immediate effect of their activities was to create a cash market for wheat and so to encourage one-crop farming. And yet the early millers generally stood for progressive farming. Before 1880 they were alarmed at the declining yields and quality of Minnesota wheat crops. They advised the bringing in of selected Red Fife wheat from Canada for seed and opposed the introduction of the softer varieties. In the next decade they attempted to increase the sale of mill feeds by advocating live stock growing. After 1900 they opposed the introduction of durum wheat because of its poor milling qualities. In recent years they have joined in the fight against the black stem rust. In general, they do not fear a proper diversification of crops, because smaller acreage in wheat may be compensated for by larger yields per acre. Available evidence seems to show that, on the whole, they have stood for a progressive type of agriculture.

Summary

An attempt has been made to show how the lumber industry of the Falls of St. Anthony influenced the growth of Minneapolis flour milling and how the millers, in turn, influenced the economic development of the Northwest. The flour mills required wide markets and raw materials from a wide area. Hence the millers pushed the building of railroads eastward to the consuming centers and westward into the wheat fields. The wheat of the Northwest came to Minneapolis only because the millers organized a system of marketing grain which came to center in the Chamber of Commerce. The mills helped to make the Twin Cities the distributing center of the Northwest because the farmer had to buy where he sold. The flour mills

brought to Minneapolis many other industries — barrel and bag factories, breakfast-food factories, factories for making milling machinery. And, lastly, although the millers have been accused of exploiting the wheat farmers, they have generally stood for the farmers' true interests — diversified farming. The fundamental importance of the Minneapolis milling leadership in the agricultural development of the Northwest must be recognized.

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RADIOGRAMS OF MINNESOTA HISTORY

THE VOYAGEUR[1]

Every section of the United States is rapidly becoming interested in the folklore peculiar to itself. This condition is an evidence that the nation has passed the hurry of its youth and, settling into maturity, is now looking back with tender affection on the scenes of its childhood. The Indian is no longer a pest to be exterminated as speedily as possible, though our pioneering ancestors regarded him as such. He had habits, traditions, and customs that make him worthy of study by every section of the country. In similar fashion, the South is finding more than a beast of burden in the Negro, whose "spirituals" and tales are taking a high place in the folklore of the world. Thus far we in the Upper Mississippi Valley have overlooked, in large measure, the outstanding figure among our makers of folklore, if we except the Indian. Like much of the northern part of the United States and practically all of Canada, we have the *voyageur*, one of the most colorful figures in the history of the continent.

We might translate the name and call him a canoeman, but he would never recognize himself in the new word, for he spoke no English; and those peculiar impressions which the very utterance of the French term call to mind would be lost if we were to call him by any other name than that by which he designated himself. Yankees and Scotchmen could be canoemen, and sometimes were; only French-Canadians could be *voyageurs*.

The origin of the *voyageur* goes far back into the days when the French settlers about Montreal and Quebec followed the redskin farther and farther up the lakes and streams into the distant West, hundreds of miles away, hunting the beaver.

[1] This paper, in abridged form, was given as a radio talk on March 17, 1925, from the Twin City broadcasting station WCCO.

For many years the chief wealth of the North American continent lay in its furs and skins. At first the Indians from the West came to the eastern seaboard, bringing their pelts. The French settlers could not long remain content with this arrangement and soon we find them accompanying or following the Indian up the Great Lakes and beyond into the plains of the West. They searched out new routes; they became expert in building and handling canoes, Indian fashion; they learned the best methods of eliciting furs from the Indians; they gave French names to the physical features of the country through which they passed; in a word, they originated the system which fur-hunters were to use for over a hundred years.

Then came the conquest of Canada by the English in 1760. The French fur-traders who were left in Canada after that event were mainly of the lower classes about Montreal and Quebec. The English with their more modern business methods assumed control of the trade and firms came into existence whose chief concern was the procuring of furs through the instrumentality of these French-Canadians whose fathers and grandfathers had hunted the beaver almost to the Pacific Ocean. The majority of the men who formed the new companies were Scotchmen and their headquarters were at Montreal, which became the center of the fur trade for three chief reasons: seagoing vessels could bring fur-trade supplies thither from England; the main thoroughfare to the fur country lay along the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and the rivers entering the lakes from all directions; and the men who knew most about the fur trade lived in its vicinity.

The fur trade now became an organized system. The men who formed the companies were called the partners, some of whom remained in Montreal to take charge of the business of securing supplies from England and shipping them to fur-traders at their posts in the interior and marketing the furs received therefor while others assumed charge of the departments into which the fur-trading areas of the interior were divided. Below them in rank were the clerks, young men

entering business, one of whom represented the firm at every fur-trading post. Next came the interpreters, who were experienced hunters and knew English, French, and the particular Indian dialect of the region about the posts where they were stationed. Finally, at the bottom, were the *voyageurs*, the canoemen who performed the physical labor for all those above them. If we accompany a squadron of canoes as it leaves Montreal, bound for what is now Minnesota, we shall get acquainted very easily with our *voyageurs*, who are friendly folk, and shall learn much more about their ways than if we were to adopt any other method of studying them and their peculiar habits.

It is a bright May morning in the year 1793. Just above the Lachine Rapids in the St. Lawrence at Montreal all is bustle and confusion, for the annual squadron of canoes for the Grand Portage leaves today, word having been received that at last all the streams and lakes on the route are free from ice. The squadron consists of thirty canoes and is divided into three brigades, each with its guide or pilot, who knows the intricacies of the long route. The canoes are frail birch-bark structures, but each carries eight to ten men, besides some three tons of merchandise — the provisions for the interior and goods to be exchanged for furs. As we step in, we notice that the water is up to the gunwales and, were our *voyageurs* not such experienced hands, we should fear for our lives. These men have been laboring hard for several days, making up the goods into bales of ninety pounds each — *pieces* they are called. Each canoe carries, besides the men's personal effects, fifty-five packages of goods, six hundredweight of biscuit, two hundredweight of pork or grease, three bushels of peas, two oilcloths to cover the goods, a sail, an axe, a towline, a kettle, a sponge with which to bail out water, and a quantity of gum, bark, and watap (or roots) for repairing the canoe.

Everyone is dressed in the peculiar manner of the class, in garb most gay and becoming to such an animated, vigorous race. A capote, or surcoat, made of a blanket, is the most con-

spicuous item, unless it be the many-colored sash at the waist, topping the cloth trousers and leather leggins and suspending the knives, tobacco pouch, and many other small articles which dangle from it. A striped cotton shirt testifies to the civilized instincts of this child of a mixed tradition, and the moccasins on his feet tell of his feeling of kinship with the Indians. Many tearful farewells are being said with anguished gesticulations, for our *voyageur's* tears and laughter lie close to the surface and for the moment life is a vale of tears as he says farewell to his *femme* and his numerous progeny.

Now we proceed. But first we must conform with the long established custom of the *voyageurs* and cross to the church of St. Anne, the last church we shall see. Here the men take up a voluntary donation among themselves, in order to have prayers said for the prosperity of the voyage and a safe return to friends and families. St. Anne is the patron saint of *voyageurs* and no one would dream of beginning a trip to the interior without securing her blessing.

The men consider this point the beginning of the expedition and, lest we be "baptized," as the *voyageurs* call the ducking we should receive if we, the only novices in the canoe, did not treat them, we give them a few bottles of porter. The sorrows of the leave-taking are soon forgotten and the *voyageurs* are now the merriest, most light-hearted persons in the world.

To reach the Sault de Ste. Marie as quickly as possible, our brigade proceeds up the Ottawa River and down the French River to upper Lake Huron. This route is full of rapids and falls, which require the *voyageurs* to carry on their backs around these obstacles the merchandise and frequently the canoes. Two *pieces*, sometimes three, are carried at a time by each man. If the distance is short one load is carried the entire distance before another is taken up. If a rest becomes necessary all the goods are transferred to the resting point before the remainder of the portage is undertaken at all. A resting place is called a *pose* by the men, who practically never

speak of the length of a portage by feet or rods, but usually as so many *poses*.

The rapids do not always prevent navigation, but they are always dangerous. Though the *voyageurs* are usually miraculously dexterous in guiding a canoe and shoot the rapids with consummate skill, now and then one makes a mistake and finds a watery grave. For every such lost companion, whether his body is recovered or not, the men erect a small cross on the bank nearby. In one spot we count thirty such crosses. Whenever a cross is sighted all the *voyageurs* pull off their caps and make the sign of the cross while someone in the canoe repeats a short prayer. The same rites are observed whenever we pass from one stream into another. In fact the *voyageurs* have evolved a whole set of rules which they observe scrupulously. For example, at a certain portage in the route, all parts of which have been given French designations by the men, the setting, or propelling, poles become no longer necessary for navigation and all the middlemen, or those in the body of the canoe, go through a regular ceremony of casting away their poles. This performance is accompanied by a loud huzza.

The middlemen, or *milieux*, as they designate themselves, receive on leaving Montreal what they call an equipment. By this term they mean two blankets, two shirts, two pairs of trousers, two handkerchiefs, ten pounds of tobacco, and some trifling articles. Besides these things, they receive at one time or another four hundred livres for the season. The bowman and the steersman, being more important *voyageurs*, receive twelve hundred livres and a similar equipment with four extra pounds of tobacco.

Having entered Lake Huron, we proceed quickly to the Sault, where we portage and launch our canoes on the broad surface of Lake Superior. The *voyageur* tells a story in an inimitable way and to catch something of the flavor of his style, we will let one describe this portion of our trip.[2]

[2] Paul Beaulieu (1820–1897), the author of an excellent paper on the fur-trade methods used in the Lake Superior region, from which this

[During storms on the lake] the voyagers takes a rest which is soon to be supplemented by as much Labor during calm weather working day and night stopping only long enough to cook their daily rations to last until the next night. during this stoppage each man wraps himself in a Mackinaw blanket which constitutes his bedding and is soon in the embrace of Morpheus, while the cooking is being done by the women. 3 hours was the allotted time of stoppage and then could be heard the cry of the man in charge of the march, as he was called — Hup Hup Hup Embark Embark Embark. A scene of confusion would follow, each person competing with his neighbor as to who would get through first with his meal, and then the packing and carrying Large kettles full of corn & broth steaming, Mess Baskets, Tea Kettles, and tripods for hanging kettles with chains appended, Fry Pans used in baking bread for clerks only & in fact the turmoil witnessed in any nomadic camp is here duplicated with the exception that the means of transportation is not an elephant nor a camel, an Indian pony or a Red River dog, But a full fledged Mackinaw Boat which is shoved off from shore the prow once more headed towards the setting sun, the oars are shipped each person occupying the same place he did the day before splash goes the Oars. A Canadian boat song is struck up by a leader (*solo*) which is responded to in chorus by the crews of all the boats and keeping perfect time with the dipping and pulling of the Oars. So one league (3 miles) is reached according to rough calculations the oars are suspended in the air in the leading boat and bridled by a raw hide thong fastened to the poles laid across for the feet of the rowers to rest on, and all the other Boats follows suit by doing the same thing. this is called a pipe — otherwise a rest.

extract is taken, was a well-known *voyageur* and Chippewa interpreter. The sketch printed above is among the Beaulieu Papers in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society and has never been published. While it describes conditions and customs as the author knew them after 1830, it applies fairly accurately to the *voyageur* and his habits at the close of the eighteenth century. Customs among this class of men changed slowly, and the only reference in this extract that needs explanation is that to Mackinac boats, which to a large extent had supplanted canoes on Lake Superior by the year 1825.

Tobacco sacks & pouches are pulled out pipes are lit, a smoke is enjoyed for 10 minutes. Oars are again in motion, and the same routine followed up unless by a special interposition of the *vielle* or old woman of the wind a slight breeze is felt from the right quarter which the voyager thinks that he encourages by throwing small pieces of tobacco or other insignificant articles in the lake as a sacrifice with the accompan[y]ing words souffle souffle le vielle (or blow blow old woman) and when their prayers are heard and their sacrifises are accepted by the old woman or the She Neptune of Lake Superior the masts are fastened & keyed in position the canvass is spread the rudder being shipped as soon as preperations are made to plant the masts, as it is termed. With a mild breeze these boats will sail from 60 to 70 miles per day, while they cannot be propelled with oars more than one half that distance. during these sailing spells the contentment and happiness is depicted in every feature, and sleeping is the order of the day.

We pass along the rocky north shore and twelve days from the Sault arrive at the Grand Portage, the great summer rendezvous for all the traders and *voyageurs*. While on the lake and also at times on the streams, the *voyageurs* sing lustily. The steersman ordinarily sets the pace, and all join in these old French songs, which usually have a most romantic flavor. One, especially, seems to be a great favorite, "A la claire fontaine." The first stanza as sung by the *voyageurs* in French runs:[3]

A la claire fontaine
M'en allant promener,
J'ai trouvai l'eau si belle
Que je m'y suis baigné.
Lui ya longtemps que je t'aime,
Jamais je ne t'oublierai.

[3] The French version is given entire, together with the air, in Ernest Gagnon, *Chansons populaires du Canada, recucillies et publiées avec annotations*, 2 (Quebec, 1894). The translation is taken from William Douw Lighthall, ed., *Songs of the Great Dominion: Voices from the Forests and Waters, the Settlements and Cities of Canada*, 74 (London, 1889).

William D. Lighthall translates the *chanson* thus:

Unto the crystal fountain
For pleasure did I stray;
So fair I found the waters
My limbs in them I lay.

Long is it I have loved thee,
Thee shall I love alway,
My dearest;
Long is it I have loved thee,
Thee shall I love alway.

So fair I found the waters,
My limbs in them I lay;
Beneath an oak tree resting,
I heard a roundelay.
Long is it, etc.

Beneath an oak tree resting,
I heard a roundelay,
The nightingale was singing
On the oak tree's topmost spray.
Long is it, etc.

The nightingale was singing
On the oak tree's topmost spray:—
Sing, nightingale, keep singing,
Thou who hast heart so gay!
Long is it, etc.

Sing, nightingale, keep singing,
Thou hast a heart so gay,
Thou hast a heart so merry,
While mine is sorrow's prey.
Long it is, etc.

For I have lost my mistress,
Whom I did true obey,
All for a bunch of roses,
Whereof I said her nay.
Long is it, etc.

I would those luckless roses
Were on their bush to-day,
And that itself the rosebush
Were plunged in ocean's spray.
Long is it, etc.

Another song which enlivens the *voyageur's* toilsome way and which reveals a certain class consciousness in this group of men is translated rather literally thus:[4]

THE WAY

The river that we sail
Is the pride of our country;
The women that we love
Are the fairest upon earth.
Row, then, row! Row, then, row!

Toilsome is our way,
Dangerous is our way;
But what matter?
Our trust is in Providence.
Row, then, row! Row, then, row!

The river that we sail
Is the pride of our country;
The women that we love
Are the fairest upon earth.
Row, then, row! Row, then, row!

Three pipes before we reach Grand Portage we put ashore and the men shave and clean themselves in order to make a good appearance at the end of the journey, for your *voyageur* has many of the characteristics of his French forbears, among which is the desire to make a good impression. Then we start on the final lap of the Lake Superior journey. We round *Pointe au Chapeau*, or Hat Point, and come in sight of the long-wished-for Grand Portage. The beach is covered with spectators awaiting our arrival, our *voyageurs* sing paddling songs in a vociferous manner, the canoes are propelled forward at great speed, and we push up on the beach amid calls and laughter and a perfect babel of tongues.

The fort here is twenty-four by thirty rods, built on the margin of a bay at the foot of a hill of considerable height. Within the palisades are sixteen dwelling houses, shops, and

[4] The translation is given in Charles Lanman, *Adventures in the Wilds of the United States and British American Provinces*, 1:115 (Philadelphia, 1856).

storehouses. The *voyageurs* have a camp outside the palisades. They number about eleven hundred and there are interpreters, clerks, and partners besides them. Here the Northmen, or those who winter in the interior, live in tents during their stay, but our more frugal *voyageurs*, or pork-eaters, as they are generally termed, lodge beneath their canoes.

The name pork-eaters originated from the food eaten here and on the journey by the canoemen. Whereas the clerks, guides, and interpreters have a variety of food, the daily ration of the *voyageur* is one quart of hulled corn with one or two ounces of suet, tallow, or grease. The corn is boiled in a gallon of water for two hours over a moderate fire. When it has boiled a short time, the fat is added and later a little salt. When ready for serving, the mixture is thick and resembles hominy. It is from the grease that the name is derived, the French name for the canoemen being *mangeurs du lard*, eaters of pork.

At this point most of the *voyageurs* who have come with us turn back to Montreal, paddling the canoes in which they came, now filled with packs of furs brought down from the numerous posts that dot the wilderness from the Grand Portage to the Pacific Ocean. We shall not return with them, but go on with those who are to pass the winter at the posts in the interior. After carrying the provisions and merchandise for the inland posts over the long portage, nine miles or sixteen *poses* in length, we launch our canoes in the river and proceed by lakes and rivers to Rainy Lake. Now our canoes are much smaller and manned by only five or six *voyageurs*. We are fourteen canoes bound for Red River each carrying about a ton and a half of merchandise and provisions.

At the height of land, the source of the streams emptying into Lake Superior, we are made Northmen by the *voyageurs*. This ceremony, performed here on everyone who has never passed this way before, consists of sprinkling water in our faces with a small cedar bough. Every person so initiated must agree to the following conditions: never to let a new

hand pass that way without experiencing the same ceremony; and never to kiss a *voyageur's* wife against her own free will. The ceremony is completed by firing a dozen shots, one after another in Indian fashion. Of course the reason for this ceremony on the part of the *voyageurs* is to claim a drink, and so we submit to the rest of the performance by giving them a keg on which they get quite uproarious. Here for the first time we see our *voyageurs* roast and eat a dog in Indian fashion. This is also the place where the men generally finish their small kegs of liquor and where, as a result, many a battle is fought.

We continue our route through Rainy Lake, — stopping over night at the fort there, — through the Lake of the Woods, down the Winnipeg River, and into Lake Winnipeg. Red River enters this lake, and we pass up it to the fork or entrance of the Assiniboine, where the city of Winnipeg is to stand in later years. Here our brigade divides, part going up the Assiniboine, or Upper Red River, as it is frequently called; the remainder up the Lower Red River into the country of the Chippewa and the Sioux. We shall stay with the four canoes that are to winter at Pembina River. At that place we make camp and the *voyageurs*, nineteen in number, build a storehouse and a palisaded fort, cut hay for the horses which we purchase from the Indians of the plains, and cut 120 cords of wood for fuel during the long winter months. We are to trade with the Chippewa, who are in great fear constantly of being surprised by the Sioux, who also frequent these regions.

The winter is spent in hunting and trapping, going on long journeys to Indians at Red Lake, Otter Tail Lake, and other points in the region later to be known as Minnesota and North Dakota, killing buffaloes and bringing in the meat, and keeping in the fort when the weather is too inclement for outdoor operations. On Christmas Day, New Year's, Epiphany, and other holy or saints' days, the *voyageurs* and their squaws and half-breed families, who constitute the inhabitants of our fort, all claim their drams of high wine or other liquors, and their

flour, sugar, and other luxuries reserved for such special occasions. Sometimes we have a ball, when old fiddles are produced and the fort becomes a merry place indeed.

On holidays and on Sundays the flag is raised over the fort. It is the only way our *voyageurs* have to distinguish one day from another. Frequently men return from long hunts and cannot tell the day of the week nor of the month. Often they cannot tell whether the month is, say, November or December. New Year's, however, never passes without due celebration. Even the Indians have adopted the *voyageurs'* manner of observing it; and it is ludicrous to see an old, fat squaw, face clean for once, come into the fort, shake hands, wish the clerk or one of the men *bon jour*, and put her face close to his to give and receive the Canadian New Year's kiss.

Thus is the long winter passed. In May all is bustle and commotion again in preparation for making the trip to Grand Portage with the packs of furs, 125 in number, which represent our labors of the winter. The journey down follows the route we pursued last autumn and in midsummer we arrive once more at the great inland rendezvous, Grand Portage.

Such were the *voyageurs* in Minnesota history. When the Americans took the fur trade from the British in 1816 no substitute could be found for the Canadian boatmen, and so they continued, under special dispensation from the government, to man the canoes and boats of the American traders. John Jacob Astor, president of the American Fur Company, the principal fur company in Minnesota, once remarked that he would rather have one Canadian *voyageur* than three American boatmen. After the Americans took charge of the trade the *voyageurs* usually entered the region of the Upper Mississippi by way of Fond du Lac, near the site of the present city of Duluth. Thence they spread up the rivers and lakes west and northwest, covering from east to west what is now the northern portion of the state of Minnesota. By other routes they also entered the southern part of the state.

After the failure of the American Fur Company in 1842, the fur trade began to dwindle. Gradually the *voyageurs* ceased to come. Those who were already here became occupied in other pursuits and many of their descendants are among us today. Occasionally we still run across such surnames as Lafonde, Roy, Houle, Larocque, Lafranc, Beauchemin, Langlois, and Renville, which represent the descendants of some of these old Canadian *voyageurs*. We should remember them, too, when we speak of Lac qui Parle, Lake Traverse, Mille Lacs, and other geographical features that have never ceased to be called by the names the *voyageurs* bestowed upon them.

In recounting these characteristics and customs of the *voyageurs* on their trips from Montreal to Grand Portage and on into the interior, I have made use of such authentic data as I have found in the diaries and reminiscences of clerks and *voyageurs*. Several of these documents have been preserved, some in print, others still in the form in which the clerk penned them years ago as he rested at some *pose*. They furnish extremely interesting reading and would repay anyone who might care to peruse them. I may add that an oil painting of a *voyageur* done in the fifties from life, showing his red cap and the inevitable pipe, was on exhibition recently in the St. Paul Public Library.[5]

GRACE LEE NUTE

[5] The painting is the property of Miss Abby Abbe Fuller of St. Paul, whose aunt, Mrs. Abby Fuller Abbe, was the artist.

MINNESOTA AS SEEN BY TRAVELERS

With the development of steamboat traffic on the Mississippi River in the early thirties, Fort Snelling, the northernmost military post on the river, became a Mecca for curious travelers who wished to gain an impression of frontier America. Among the Europeans who visited this outpost of civilization was Captain Frederick Marryat, a British naval officer of wide experience who had retired several years earlier in order to devote himself to literary pursuits. Between 1829 and 1837, when he journeyed to America, he published a number of popular sea tales, including *Peter Simple* and *Mr. Midshipman Easy*. The distinguished soldier and author spent two years touring the United States and Canada. Early in the spring of 1838 he traveled westward by way of the Great Lakes to Green Bay, Wisconsin, accompanied some troops overland to Fort Winnebago, and descended the Wisconsin River in a keel boat to Prairie du Chien. At this point he boarded a steamboat which took him up the Mississippi to Fort Snelling, where he arrived on June 13, 1838.

Upon his return to England Marryat published two works of three volumes each, both under the title *A Diary in America, With Remarks on Its Institutions*. Only about half of the first series is devoted to the actual *Diary;* the remainder of this series and the entire second series are composed of essays on American social life and institutions. It is from the *Diary* in the first series that the following account of Marryat's visit to Minnesota is reprinted.

CAPTAIN MARRYAT IN MINNESOTA, 1838

[Captain Frederick Marryat, *A Diary in America, With Remarks on Its Institutions*, 2:78–125 (London, 1839)]

I remained a week at Prairie du Chien, and left my kind entertainers with regret; but an opportunity offering of going up to St.

Peters in a steam-boat, with General Atkinson, who was on a tour of inspection, I could not neglect so favourable a chance.[1] St. Peters is situated at the confluence of the St. Peter River with the Upper Mississippi, about seven miles below the Falls of St. Anthony, where the River Mississippi becomes no longer navigable; and here, removed many hundred miles from civilization, the Americans have an outpost called Fort Snelling, and the American Fur Company an establishment. The country to the north is occupied by the Chippeway tribe of Indians; that to the east by the Winnebagos, and that to the west by the powerful tribe of Sioux or Dacotahs, who range over the whole prairie territory between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers.

The river here is so constantly divided by numerous islands, that its great width is not discernible: it seldom has less than two or three channels, and often more: it courses through a succession of bold bluffs, rising sometimes perpendicularly, and always abruptly from the banks or flat land, occasionally diversified by the prairies, which descend to the edge of the stream. These bluffs are similar to those I have described in the Wisconsin river and Prairie du Chien, but are on a grander scale, and are surmounted by horizontal layers of limestone rock. The islands are all covered with small timber and brushwood, and in the spring, before the leaves have burst out, and the freshets come down, the river rises so as to cover the whole of them, and then you behold the width and magnificence of this vast stream. On the second day we arrived at Lake Pepin, which is little more than an expansion of the river, or rather a portion of it, without islands. On the third, we made fast to the wharf, abreast of the American Fur Company's Factory, a short distance below the mouth of the River St. Peters. Fort Snelling is about a mile from the factory, and is situated on a steep promontory, in a commanding position; it is built of stone, and may be considered as impregnable to any attempt which the Indians might make, provided that it has a sufficient garrison. Behind it is a spendid prairie, running back for many miles.

[1] General Henry Atkinson was the commandant at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri.

The Falls of St. Anthony are not very imposing, athough not devoid of beauty. You cannot see the whole of the falls at one view, as they are divided, like those of Niagara, by a large island, about one-third of the distance from the eastern shore. The river which, as you ascended, poured through a bed below the strata of calcareous rock, now rises above the limestone formation; and the large masses of this rock, which at the falls have been thrown down in wild confusion over a width of from two hundred to two hundred and fifty yards, have a very picturesque effect. The falls themselves, I do not think, are more than from thirty to thirty-five feet high; but, with rapids above and below them, the descent of the river is said to be more than one hundred feet. Like those of Niagara, these falls have constantly receded, and are still receding.

Here, for the first time, I consider that I have seen the Indians in their primitive state; for till now all that I had fallen in with have been debased by intercourse with the whites, and the use of spirituous liquors. The Winnebagos at Prairie du Chien were almost always in a state of intoxication, as were the other tribes at Mackinaw, and on the Lakes. The Winnebagos are considered the dirtiest race of Indians, and with the worst qualities: they were formerly designated by the French, *Puans* a term sufficiently explanatory. When I was at Prairie du Chien, a circumstance which had occurred there in the previous winter was narrated to me. In many points of manners and customs, the red men have a strong analogy with the Jewish tribes: among others, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, is most strictly adhered to. If an Indian of one tribe is killed by an Indian of another, the murderer is demanded, and must either be given up, or his life must be taken by his own tribe; if not, a feud between the two nations would be the inevitable result. It appeared that a young Menonnomie, in a drunken fray, had killed a Winnebago, and the culprit was demanded by the head men of the Winnebago tribe. A council was held; and instead of the Menonnomie, the chiefs of the tribe offered them whisky. The Winnebagos could not resist the temptation; and it was agreed that ten gallons of whisky should be produced by the Menonnomies, to be drunk by all parties over the grave of the deceased. The squaws of the Menonnomie tribe

had to dig the grave, as is the custom, — a task of no little labour, as the ground was frozen hard several feet below the surface.

The body was laid in the grave; the mother of the deceased, with the rest of the Winnebago squaws, howling over it, and denouncing vengeance against the murderer; but in a short time the whisky made its appearance, and they all set too to drink. In an hour they were all the best friends in the world, and all very drunk. The old squaw mother was hugging the murderer of her son; and it was a scene of intoxication which, in the end, left the majority of the parties assembled, for a time, quite as dead as the man in the grave. Such are the effects of whisky upon these people, who had been destroyed much more rapidly by spirituous liquors than by all the wars which they have engaged in against the whites.

The Sioux are a large band, and are divided into six or seven different tribes; they are said to amount to from 27,000 to 30,000. They are, or have been, constantly at war with the Chippeways to the north of them, and with Saucs and Foxes, a small but very warlike band, residing to the south of them, abreast of Des Moines River. The Sioux have fixed habitations as well as tents; their tents are large and commodious, made of buffalo skins dressed without the hair, and very often handsomely painted on the outside. I went out about nine miles to visit a Sioux village on the borders of a small lake. Their lodges were built cottage-fashion, of small fir-poles, erected stockadewise, and covered inside and out with bark; the roof also of bark with a hole in the centre for the smoke to escape through. I entered one of those lodges: the interior was surrounded by a continued bed-place round three of the sides, about three feet from the floor, and on the platform was a quantity of buffalo skins and pillows; the fire was in the centre, and their luggage was stowed away under the bed-places. It was very neat and clean; the Sioux generally are; indeed, particularly so, compared with the other tribes of Indians. A missionary resides at this village, and has paid great attention to the small band under his care. Their patches of Indian corn were clean and well tilled; and although, from demi-civilization, the people have lost much of their native grandeur, still they are a fine race, and

well disposed.[2] But the majority of the Sioux tribe remain in their native state: they are *Horse* Indians, as those who live on the prairies are termed; and although many of them have rifles, the majority still adhere to the use of the bow and arrows, both in their war parties and in the chase of the buffalo.

During the time that I passed here, there were several games of ball played between different bands, and for considerable stakes; one was played on the prairie close to the house of the Indian agent. The Indian game of ball is somewhat similar to the game of golf in Scotland, with this difference, that the sticks used by the Indians have a small network racket at the end, in which they catch the ball and run away with it, as far as they are permitted, towards the goal, before they throw it in that direction. It is one of the most exciting games in the world, and requires the greatest activity and address.

. . . . . .

The game played before the fort when I was present lasted nearly two hours, during which I had a good opportunity of estimating the agility of the Indians, who displayed a great deal of mirth and humour at the same time. But the most curious effect produced was by the circumstance, that having divested themselves of all their garments except their middle clothing, they had all of them fastened behind them a horse's tail; and as they swept by, in their chase of the ball, with their tails streaming to the wind, I really almost made up my mind that such an appendage was rather an improvement to a man's figure than otherwise.

While I was there a band of Sioux from the *Lac qui Parle,* (so named from a remarkable echo there,) distant about two hundred and thirty miles from Fort Snelling, headed by a Mons. Rainville, came down, on a visit to the American Fur Company's factory.[3] Mons. Rainville, (or *de* Rainville, as he told me was

[2] The village which Marryat visited was that of the Sioux chief Cloudman and his band on the shore of Lake Calhoun. The neighboring Lake Harriet mission was in charge of the Reverend Jedediah D. Stevens from 1835 to 1839. He opened two schools for Indian and half-breed children and taught agriculture to the Indians.

[3] For a brief sketch of Joseph Renville see *ante,* 4:416 n. 75. In his journal for June 15, 1838, Major Lawrence Taliaferro, the Indian agent

his real name,) is, he asserts, descended from one of the best families in France, which formerly settled in Canada. He is a half-bred, his father being a Frenchman, and his mother a Sioux; his wife is also a Sioux, so that his family are three quarters red. He had been residing many years with the Sioux tribes, trafficking with them for peltry, and has been very judicious in his treatment of them, not interfering with their pursuits of hunting; he has, moreover, to a certain degree civilized them, and obtained great power over them. He has induced the band who reside with him to cultivate a sufficiency of ground for their sustenance, but they still course the prairie on their fiery horses, and follow up the chase of the buffalo. They adhere also to their paint, their dresses, and their habits, and all who compose his band are first-rate warriors; but they are all converted to Christianity.

Latterly two missionaries have been sent out to his assistance.[4] The Dacotah language has been reduced to writing, and most of them, if not all, can write and read. I have now in my possession an elementary spelling-book, and Watts's catechism, printed at Boston, in the Sioux tongue, and many letters and notes given to me by the missionaries, written to them by the painted warriors; of course, they do not touch spirituous liquors. The dress of the band which came down with Mr. Rainville was peculiarly martial and elegant. Their hair is divided in long plaits in front, and ornamented with rows of circular silver buckles; the ear is covered with ear-rings up to the top of it, and on the crown of the head they wear the war-eagle's feathers, to which they are entitled by their exploits. The war-eagle is

at Fort Snelling, makes the following remarks concerning the arrival of these visitors: "Mr Jos Renville Sr. arrives with 120 Indians from Lake qui parle on the St Peters. The Indians come without an invitation from the Agency. their presence is only calculated to give trouble to the Agent." The Taliaferro Journals are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

[4] Dr. Thomas S. Williamson and his assistant, Alexander G. Huggins, accompanied Renville to Lac qui Parle in 1835, and two years later they were joined by the Reverend Stephen R. Riggs. Marryat's statements regarding the success of these missionaries undoubtedly are greatly exaggerated.

a small one of the genus, but said to be so fierce that it will attack and destroy the largest of his kind; the feathers are black about three inches down from the tips, on each side of the stem, the remainder being white. These feathers are highly valued, as the bird is scarce and difficult to kill. I saw two very fine feathers carried by a Sioux warrior on the point of his spear, and I asked him if he would part with them. He refused, saying that they cost too dear. I asked him how much, and he replied that he had given a very *fine horse* for them. For every scalp taken from the enemy, or grisly bear killed, an Indian is entitled to wear one feather, and no more; and this rule is never deviated from. Were an Indian to put on more feathers than he is entitled to, he would be immediately disgraced. Indeed, you can among this primitive people know all their several merits as warriors. I have now the shield of [a] Yank-ton Sioux, a chief of a tribe near the Missouri. In the centre is a black eagle, which is his *totem,* or heraldic distinction; on each side hang war-eagle's feathers and small locks of human hair, denoting the number of scalps which he has taken, and below are smaller feathers, equal to the number of wounds he has received. These warriors of Mr. Rainville's were constantly with me, for they knew that I was an *English* warrior, as they called me, and they are very partial to the English. It was really a pleasing sight, and a subject for meditation, to see one of these fine fellows, dressed in all his wild magnificence, with his buffalo robe on his shoulders, and his tomahawk by his side, seated at a table, and writing out for me a Sioux translation of the Psalms of David.

Mr. Rainville's children read and write English, French, and Sioux. They are modest and well-behaved, as the Indian women generally are. They had prayers every evening, and I used to attend them. The warriors sat on the floor round the room; the missionary, with Mr. Rainville and his family, in the centre; and they all sang remarkably well. This system with these Indians is, in my opinion, very good. All their fine qualities are retained; and if the system be pursued I have no doubt but that the sternness and less defensible portions of their characters will be gradually obliterated.

A half-bred, of the name of Jack Fraser, came up with us in the steam-boat.[5] He has been admitted into one of the bands of Sioux who live near the river, and is reckoned one of the bravest of their warriors. I counted twenty-eight notches on the handle of his tomahawk, every one denoting a scalp taken, and when dressed he wears eagle's feathers to that amount. He was a fine intellectual-looking man. I conversed with him through the interpreter, and he told me that the only man that he wished to kill was his *father*. On inquiring why, he replied that his father had broken his word with him; that he had promised to make a *white man* of him (that is to have educated him, and brought him up in a civilized manner), and that he had left him a Sioux. One could not help admiring the thirst for knowledge and the pride shown by this poor fellow, although mixed up with their inveterate passion for revenge.

The following story is told of Jack Fraser: When he was a lad of twelve years old he was, with three other Sioux Indians, captured by the Chippeways. At that period these tribes were not at war, but they were preparing for it; the Chippeways, therefore, did not kill, but they insulted all the Sioux who fell into their hands.

The greatest affront to a Sioux is to cut off his hair, which is worn very long before and behind, hanging down in plaits ornamented with silver brooches. The Chippeways cut off the hair of the three Sioux Indians, and were about to do the same office for Jack, when he threw them off, telling them that if they wanted his hair, they must take it with the *scalp* attached to it.

This boldness on the part of a boy of twelve years old astonished the Chippeways, and they all put their hands to their

[5] Joseph Jack Frazer, the son of a Scotch trader, Alexander Frazer, and a half-breed Sioux woman of the Red Wing band, was born in 1806. He lived as a member of his mother's tribe until he was thirty-five years old, when he "doffed the habiliments of the savage, and became quite a respectable white man in his dress and habits, a position he had anxiously desired to attain from his boyhood." An account of the "Life and Adventures of Joseph Jack Frazer: A Mixed Blood of the Dakota Sioux," by "Walker-in-the-Pines" (Henry H. Sibley), is published in sixteen weekly installments in the *St. Paul Pioneer* beginning December 2, 1866.

mouths, as the Indians always do when they are very much surprised. They determined, however, to ascertain if Jack was really as brave as he appeared to be, and whether he had fortitude to bear pain.

One of the chiefs refilled his pipe, and put the hot bowl of it to Jack's nether quarters, and kept it there in close contact until he had burnt a hole in his flesh as wide as a dollar, and half an inch deep. Jack never flinched during the operation, and the Indians were so pleased with him that they not only allowed Jack to retain his hair, but they gave him his liberty.

The Sioux are said to be very honest, except on the point of stealing horses; but this, it must be recollected, is a part of their system of warfare, and is no more to be considered as stealing than is our taking merchant-vessels on the high seas. Indeed, what are the vast rolling prairies but as a wide ocean, and their armed bands that scour them but men-of-war and privateers, and the horses which they capture but unarmed or defenceless convoys of merchant-vessels? But sometimes they steal when they are not at war, and this is from the force of habit, and their irresistible desire to possess a fine horse. Mr. Rainville informed me that three hundred dollars was a very common price for a good horse, and if the animal was very remarkable, swift and well-trained for buffalo-hunting, they would give any sum (or the equivalent for it) that they could command.

In many customs the Sioux are closely allied to the Jewish nation; indeed, a work has been published in America to prove that the Indians were originally Jews. There is always a separate lodge for the women to retire to before and after childbirth, observing a similar purification to that prescribed by Moses. Although there ever will be, in all societies, instances to the contrary, chastity is honoured among the Sioux. They hold what they term Virgin Feasts, and when these are held, should any young woman accept the invitation who has by her misconduct rendered herself unqualified for it, it is the duty of any man who is aware of her unfitness, to go into the circle and lead her out. A circumstance of this kind occurred the other day, when the daughter of a celebrated chief gave a Virgin Feast: a young man of the tribe walked into the circle and led her out; upon which the chief led his daughter to the lodge of the young Sioux,

and told him that he gave her to him for his wife, but the young man refused to take her, as being unworthy. But what is more singular (and I have it from authority which is unquestionable), they also hold Virgin Feasts for the young men; and should any young man take his seat there who is unqualified, the woman who is aware of it must lead him out, although in so doing, she convicts herself; nevertheless it is considered a sacred duty and is done.

The shells found in their western rivers are very interesting. I had promised to procure some for Mr. Lee, of Philadelphia, and an old squaw had been despatched to obtain them. She brought me a large quantity, and then squatted down by my side. I was seated on the stone steps before the door, and commenced opening and cleaning them previous to packing them up. She watched me very attentively for half an hour, and then got up, and continued, as she walked away, to chuckle and talk aloud. "Do you know what the old woman says?" said the old Canadian interpreter to me: "she says, the man's a fool; he keeps the shells, and throws the meat away."

The French Canadians, who are here employed by the Fur Company, are a strange set of people. There is no law here, or appeal to law; yet they submit to authority, and are managed with very little trouble. They bind themselves for three years, and during that time (little occasional deviations being overlooked) they work diligently and faithfully; ready at all seasons and at all hours, and never complaining, although the work is often extremely hard. Occasionally they return to Canada with their earnings, but the major part have connected themselves with Indian women, and have numerous families; for children in this fine climate are so numerous, that they almost appear to spring from the earth.

While I remained at St. Peters, one or two of the settlers at Red River came down. Red River is a colony established by Lord Selkirk, and at present is said to be composed of a population of four thousand. This settlement, which is four degrees of latitude north of St. Peters, has proved very valuable to the Hudson Bay Company, who are established there; most of their servants remaining at it after their three years' service is completed, and those required to be hired in their stead being

obtained from the settlement. Formerly they had to send to Montreal for their servants, and those discharged went to Canada and spent their money in the provinces; now that they remain at the settlement, the supplies coming almost wholly from the stores of the Company, the money returns to it, and they procure their servants without trouble. These settlers informed me that provisions were plentiful and cheap, beef being sold at about two-pence per lb.; but they complained, and very naturally, that there was no market for their produce, so that if the Company did not purchase it, they must consume it how they could; besides that the supply being much greater than the demand, of course favour was shewn. This had disgusted many of the settlers, who talked of coming down further south. One of the greatest inducements for remaining at Red River, and which occasioned the population to be so numerous, was the intermixture by marriage with the Indian tribes surrounding them. They do not like to return to Canada with a family of half-breeds, who would not there be looked upon with the same consideration as their parents.

I give the substance of this conversation, without being able to substantiate how far it is true: the parties who gave me the information were certainly to be classed among that portion of the settlers who were discontented.

Fort Snelling is well built, and beautifully situated; as usual, I found the officers gentlemanlike, intelligent, and hospitable; and, together with their wives and families, the society was the most agreeable that I became acquainted with in America. They are better supplied here than either at Fort Crawford or Fort Winnebago, having a fine stock of cattle on the prairie, and an extensive garden cultivated for the use of the garrison. The principal amusement of the officers is, as may be supposed, the chase; there is no want of game in the season, and they have some very good dogs of every variety. And I here had the pleasure of falling in with Captain Scott, one of the first Nimrods of the United States, and who, perhaps, has seen more of every variety of hunting than any other person. His reputation as a marksman is very great; and there is one feat which he has often performed that appears almost incredible. Two potatoes being

thrown up in the air, he will watch his opportunity and pass his rifle ball through them both.[6]

. . . . . .

The band of warriors attached to Monsieur Rainville have set up their war-tent close to the factory, and have entertained us with a variety of dances. Their dresses are very beautiful, and the people, who have been accustomed to witness these exhibitions for years, say that they have never seen any thing equal to them before. I was very anxious to obtain one of them, and applied to Mr. Rainville to effect my purpose; but it required all his influence to induce them to part with it, and they had many arguments and debates among themselves before they could make up their minds to consent to do so. I was the more anxious about it, as I had seen Mr. Catlin's splendid exhibition, and I knew that he had not one in his possession.[7] The dress in question consisted of a sort of kilt of fine skins, ornamented with beautiful porcupine quill-work and eagle's feathers; garters of animals' tails, worn at their ankles; head-dress of eagle's feathers and ermines' tails, etc. They made little objection to part with any portions of the dress except the kilt; at last they had a meeting of the whole band, as the dress was not the property of any one individual; and I was informed that the warriors would come and have a *talk* with me.

I received them at the factory's new house, in my room, which was large, and held them all. One came and presented me with a pair of garters; another with a portion of the head-dress; another with mocassins; at last, the kilt or girdle was handed to me. M. Rainville sat by as interpreter. He who had presented me with the kilt or girdle spoke for half a minute, and then stopped while what he said was being interpreted.

[6] Captain Martin Scott was an officer in the Fifth United States Infantry stationed at Fort Snelling. Stories of some of the exploits on which his fame as a hunter and marksman were based are given by Marryat, but are omitted in the present reprint.

[7] George Catlin, the artist, exhibited from time to time in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, hundreds of his paintings of American Indians and a vast number of Indian costumes and weapons which he collected during his travels among the primitive tribes after 1832. In 1835 and 1836 Catlin visited Fort Snelling and the Sioux country.

"You are an Englishman, and a warrior in your own country. You cross the great waters as fast as we can our prairies. We recollect the English, and we like them; they used us well. The rifles and blankets which they gave us, according to promise, were of good quality: not like the American goods; their rifles are bad, and their blankets are thin. The English keep their word, and they live in our memory."

"Ho!" replied I; which is as much as to say, I understand what you have said, and you may proceed.

"You have asked for the dress which we wear when we dance; we have never parted with one as yet; they belong to the band of warriors; when one who has worn a dress goes to the land of spirits, we hold a council, to see who is the most worthy to put it on in his place. We value them highly; and we tell you so not to enhance their value, but to prove what we will do for an English warrior."

"Ho!" says I.

"An American, in the fort, has tried hard to obtain this dress of us; he offered us two barrels of flour, and other things. You know that we have no game, and we are hungry; but if he had offered twelve barrels of flour, we would not have parted with them. (This was true.) But our father, Rainville, has spoken; and we have pleasure in giving them to an English warrior. I have spoken."

"Ho!" says I; upon which the Indian took his seat with the others, and it was my turn to speak. I was very near beginning, "Unaccustomed as I am to public speaking;" but I knew that such an acknowledgment would, in their estimation, have very much lessened my value as a warrior; for, like the Duke of Wellington, one must be as valuable in the council as in the field, to come up to their notions of excellence. So I rose, and said —

"I receive with great pleasure the dress which you have given me. I know that you do not like to part with it, and that you have refused the American at the fort; and I therefore value it the more. I shall never look upon it, when I am on the other side of the great waters, without thinking of my friends the Sioux; and I will tell my nation that you gave them to me be-

cause I was an English warrior, and because you liked the English."

"Ho!" grunted the whole conclave, after this was interpreted.

"I am very glad that you do not forget the English, and that you say they kept their word, and that their rifles and blankets were good. I know that the blankets of the Americans are thin and cold. (I did not think it worth while to say that they were all made in England.) We have buried the hatchet now; but should the tomahawk be raised again between the Americans and the English, you must not take part with the Americans."[8]

"Ho!" said they.

"In the Fur Company's store you will find many things acceptable to you. I leave Mr. Rainville to select for you what you wish; and beg you will receive them in return for the present which you have made me."

"Ho!" said they; and thus ended my first Indian council.

It is remarkable that the Sioux have no expression to signify, "I thank you," although other Indians have. When they receive a present, they always say, *Wash tay:* it is good.

Of all the tribes I believe the Sioux to be the most inimical to the Americans. They have no hesitation in openly declaring so; and it must be acknowledged that it is not without just grounds. During the time that I was at St. Peters, a council was held at the Indian agent's.[9] It appears that the American Government, in its paternal care for the Indians, had decided that at any *strike* taking place between tribes of Indians near to

[8] This pompous and undiplomatic proceeding aroused the indignation of the Indian agent. In his "Auto-biography," written many years later, Taliaferro, after mentioning the visit of "Capt. Marryatt of the Royal Navy, a famous author, a rough, self-conceited John Bull," goes on to relate that Marryat "visited the nearest trading post to see the Indians, announced himself an Englishman to them, through quite willing interpreters; spoke of their great nation; that he was going through their country as their friend; that their great British father had never forgotten them. This interview of the sailor was of course at once made known to the agent, and it was delicately intimated to the captain that his exploration of the country closed at Fort Snelling." *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 6:240.

[9] The speeches made by the Indians during this council are fully reported in the Taliaferro Journal for June 23, 1838.

the confines, no war should take place in consequence: that is to say, that should any Indians of one tribe attack to kill any Indians belonging to another, that instead of the tribes going to war, they should apply for and receive redress from the American Government. Some time back, a party of Chippeways came down to a trader's house, about half a mile from Fort Snelling. Being almost hereditary enemies of the Sioux, they were fired at, at night, by some of the young men of the Sioux village close by, and two of the Chippeways were wounded. In conformity with the intimation received, and the law laid down by the American Government and promulgated by the Indian agent, the Chippeways applied for redress. It was granted — four Sioux were taken and shot. This summary justice was expected to produce the best effects, and, had it been followed up, it might have prevented bloodshed: but, since the above occurrence, some Chippeways came down, and meeting a party of Sioux, were received kindly into their lodges; they returned this hospitality by treacherously murdering eleven of the Sioux, while they were asleep.[10] This time the Sioux brought forward their complaint. "You tell us not to go to war; we will not; you shot four of our people for wounding two Chippeways; now do us justice against the Chippeways, who have murdered eleven of our Sioux." As yet no justice has been done to the Sioux. The fact is, that the Chippeways live a long way off; and there are not sufficient men to garrison the fort, still less to send a party out to capture the Chippeways; and the Sioux are, as may well be supposed, indignant at this partial proceeding.

I was at the council, and heard all the speeches made by the Sioux chiefs on the occasion. They were some of them very eloquent, and occasionally very severe; and the reply of the Indian agent must have rendered the American government very contemptible in the eyes of the Indians — not that the agent was so much in fault as was the American government, which, by not taking proper measures to put their promises and agreements into force, had left their officer in such a position. First, the

[10] Reference is here made to the murder of the members of a Sioux hunting party from Lac qui Parle by Hole-in-the-Day, the Chippewa chief, and a group of his followers in April, 1838. For a brief account of the continuous warfare between these tribes see *ante*, 41–45.

Indian agent said, that the wounding of the two Chippeways took place close to the fort, and that it was on account of the insult offered to the *American flag,* that it was so promptly punished — a very different explanation, and quite at variance with the principle laid down by the American government. The Indians replied; and the agent then said, that they had not sufficient troops to defend the fort, and, therefore, could not send out a party; an admission very unwise to make, although strictly true. The Indians again replied; and then the agent said, wait a little till we hear from Washington, and then, if you have no redress, you are brave men, you have arms in your hands, and your enemies are before you. This was worse than all, for it implied the inability or the indifference of the American government to do them justice, and told them, after that government had distinctly declared that they should fight no longer, but receive redress from it, that they now might do what the government had forbidden them to, and that they had no other chance of redress. The result of this council was very unsatisfactory. The Indian chiefs declared that they were ashamed to look their people in the face, and walked solemnly away.

To make this matter still worse, after I left St. Peter's I read in the St. Louis Gazette a report of some Chippeways having come down, and that, in consequence of the advice given by the Indian agent, the Sioux had taken the law into their own hands and murdered some of the Chippeways; and that although they had never received redress for the murder of their own people, some of the Sioux were again taken and executed.[11]

The arms of the Sioux are the rifle, tomahawk, and bow; they carry spears more for parade than use. Their bows are not more than three feet long, but their execution with them is surprising. A Sioux, when on horseback chasing the buffalo, will drive his arrow, which is about eighteen inches long, with such force that the barb shall appear on the opposite side of the animal. And one of their greatest chiefs, *Wanataw,* has been known to kill two buffalos with one arrow, it having passed through the

[11] For an account of this incident see William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota,* 1: 151–154 (St. Paul, 1921). In this case the guilty Sioux were not executed, but were flogged by members of their own tribe as a punishment.

first of the animals, and mortally wounded the second on the other side of it. I was about two hundred yards from the fort, and asked a Sioux if he could send his arrow into one of the apertures for air, which were near the foundation, and about three inches wide. It appeared like a mere thread from where we stood. He took his bow, and apparently with a most careless aim he threw the arrow right into it.

The men are tall and straight, and very finely made, with the exception of their arms, which are too small. The arms of the squaws, who do all the labour, are much more muscular. One day, as I was on the prairie, I witnessed the effect of custom upon these people. A Sioux was coming up without perceiving me; his squaw followed very heavily laden, and to assist her he had himself a large package on his shoulder. As soon as they perceived me, he dropped his burden, and it was taken up by the squaw and added to what she had already. If a woman wishes to upbraid another, the severest thing she can say is, "You let your husband carry burthens."

Left St. Peters. Taking the two varieties in the mass, the Indians must be acknowledged the most perfect gentlemen in America, particularly in their deportment. It was with regret that I parted with my friends in the fort, my kind host, Mr. Sibley, and my noble-minded warrior Sioux. I could have remained at St. Peters for a year with pleasure, and could only regret that life was so short, and the Mississippi so long.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE MINNESOTA LEGISLATURE AND DR. WILLIAM W. FOLWELL

On Thursday, March 19, 1925, the Minnesota legislature paused in its busy legislative work to pay tribute to the character and services of Dr. William W. Folwell, president of the Minnesota Historical Society and president emeritus of the University of Minnesota. The proceedings included an address by Dr. Lotus D. Coffman, president of the University of Minnesota, a memorial prepared by the Reverend Richard S. Reed, chaplain of the Senate, and a response by Dr. Folwell, all of which by unanimous vote were "made a part of the permanent records of the State of Minnesota and spread upon the pages of the Senate Journal." A full record of this interesting ceremony is printed in the *Senate Journal* for March 19 (p. 19-23), but no apology is made for publishing the addresses and the memorial in this magazine.

Address Delivered by Dr. Lotus D. Coffman, President of the University of Minnesota

The American people have been engaged in such a heroic struggle to conquer nature and to develop industry that they have had little time to become patrons of art or the benefactors of science. The supreme importance of encouraging and developing art and science has been recognized almost from the days of the hardy pioneers who settled on the rockbound coasts of New England. Schools have been fostered and colleges have been maintained. Even though the sums spent for education have been large, they have been relatively insignificant in comparison with the sums spent for commerce and industry. Controlled by the insistent urge and universal desire to accumulate wealth and to increase material property, we have exalted the daring pioneer and plainsman who destroyed the game and slew the Indians, the woodsman who felled the forests, the miner who wasted ore, and the large landowner who exhausted the soil. Then came the

day when we paid our respects to the lumberman, the railroad builder, the manufacturer, the merchant, and the politician. We intend no criticism upon our forefathers nor are we blind to the necessary and enormously important contributions they have made to the material development of America. It is they who have made it possible for us to boast of America as the richest country in the world. The riches, to be sure, were latent in our natural resources, but they required the genius of our forefathers to develop them.

But life is not all mines, timber, insurance companies, banks, rural credits, road building, business; now and then something happens — something that brings us to a sudden halt and forces us to recall that these things are the things that pass away. They represent the fleeting achievements of mankind. Many of them actually perish with us individually or with our generation. When the legislature of a great state pauses in the midst of its busiest season to pay its respects to a man who never won distinction in legislative halls, in politics, or in any form of business, a man whose merit and chief claim to distinction rests upon his work in the classroom and in the library, when an event like this occurs and we are assembled in high conclave to pay tribute to such a man, we take heart anew. Even though we meet thus for but a brief moment we are in effect saying to ourselves that mind is more important than matter, and that the spirit shall be exalted over the flesh. No one can contemplate the meaning of this event without being a better man tomorrow and no state can pay such recognition to a man without being a greater state in the future.

William Watts Folwell is more truly a Minnesotan than most of us. He has lived here longer. He came in the youth of the state to help build the school system and the university. He was the first president of the University of Minnesota, when it opened its doors in 1869. Even in those meager days, inflamed by the spirit of the founders of this commonwealth and stirred by his prophetic imagination, he had a vision for the development of a great state university which has not yet become fully realized. His thought has always been in advance of the present. His gaze has never been turned to the past. He told the sturdy

pioneers of early statehood days that the future strength, happiness, and prosperity, both material and spiritual, of their commonwealth, rested upon maintaining a great university. He pleaded for classrooms, laboratories, and libraries where the youth might be taught and the scholar might study; for dormitories where the students might decently and properly be housed, and above all for a faculty composed of persons of distinguished ability. He declared that a paramount consideration for the state in realizing her ambition was to think in terms of the million as her unit in the support of the university. His fifteen years as president of this struggling institution were marked by devotion, scholarly attainment, and instructional skill, seldom equalled in any generation of schoolmasters.

When he relinquished the administrative affairs of the university, he did so to become a professor in the institution in order that he might dedicate his talents to those fields of learning in which he was most interested. For twenty-three years he was a faithful coworker and a genuinely sincere and ardent supporter of Dr. Northrop. But during this period he was constantly engaged with unremitting zeal in studying and in preparing for his daily classes. Thousands of students came under the spell of the master teacher.

There is an ancient allegory that a tribunal once set out to determine who among us had done the most good for humanity. Representative after representative of the various professions — lawyer, doctor, journalist, preacher — appeared before the tribunal and each explained what great good his profession had done for humanity. Then appeared one, a little older than the rest, whom they did not at first recognize but who, upon inquiry, proved to be the teacher of all the others. With one acclaim they shouted, "Crown him! Crown him! For it is he who has done the most good for humanity." So we here today pay our tribute to the man who gathered wisdom with his years and whose teachings have secured for him an immortality in the hearts of his students and of their fellowmen that is as enduring as the state itself.

Following his career as teacher he became professor emeritus in 1907. Since then he has spent his time in study and in

writing. Having now, for the first time, the leisure which should be every scholar's and every scientist's in his search for truth, he took up the task of writing Minnesota's history. These volumes are appearing from the press. We know how well the work is being done. We know little, however, of the hours of painstaking search, of the drudgery in hunting for authentic information, of the manuscripts, books, newspapers, letters that have been read, and of the interminable writing and revision that has been required in the preparation of these books. Only the scholar knows that; none of the rest of us can ever adequately appreciate it. When these books are completed no state will have a more authentic or finer written history of its evolution than Minnesota will have.

And now the legislature, recognizing the importance of these superior qualities in the man and of what they mean to the state, lays aside its urgent tasks to pay honor to him. What finer thing could happen to any one! What nobler thing could a state do than to pause in the midst of its duties to consider what the great educational administrator, the master teacher, and the indefatigable scholar has meant to it. It is done out of sheer respect and in acknowledgment of genuine worth, not because we believe that Dr. Folwell's work is ended. He is still the youngest one among us in disposition, in vision, and in his ardent search for truth. That his pleasant labors may be continued for many years to come is our most earnest hope and wish. When a state drops for the moment the consideration of the political, commercial, and industrial affairs to do honor to a man whose whole career exemplifies and exalts the spiritual possessions of life, it stirs the imagination and warms the heart of every one of us. Dr. Folwell, we respect you for what you are, we honor you for what you have accomplished, we love you for the ideals you have maintained.

MEMORIAL TO DR. WILLIAM WATTS FOLWELL, DELIVERED BY THE REVEREND RICHARD S. REED, CHAPLAIN OF THE SENATE

In token of a grateful remembrance the state of Minnesota records the work and life of Dr. William Watts Folwell. The legislature of this commonwealth, with the Governor, pays tribute to his nobility of character, his singleness of purpose, and the

splendor of the leadership and statesmanship that has always been his to command. We love and cherish his Christian character, his splendid scholarship that adds luster to the history of Minnesota. The service he rendered as an officer in the Civil War endears him to every state in the Union. The finest fruit earth holds is a man, and to ripen, develop, lift up, and educate a man has made him a conspicuous figure in the educational world. In his fifty-six years of service he has studied the needs of education and given a better system through his wealth of knowledge and rich experience. He has always respected in others the qualities which he possessed — sincerity of conviction and frankness of expression, which has never been used by others to promote selfish ends.

For his clarity of vision, and as the first president of the University of Minnesota his services attest his greatness. Modest, firm, simple, and a true gentleman he stands on the highest pinnacle of human endeavor. His fame is established not alone by the charm of his personality and verbal utterance, but by the lavish contribution he has given posterity in *A History of Minnesota* in four volumes and in the Minnesota volume for the *American Commonwealths* series of state histories. His master mind and untiring devotion has stamped his official career one of unselfish service. His eager search for truth, his passion for education, for the fine arts, and public parks are an inspiration for generations yet unborn. His life is made glorious by noble achievements, marching to final victory with the God he loves. His name is a new star in the galaxy of history.

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY DR. WILLIAM WATTS FOLWELL, PRESIDENT EMERITUS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

It lies not with me to suggest that the Senate is without justification for this unusual episode in its proceedings. It would be an absurd affectation for me to pretend that I am all unworthy, or greatly unworthy, of the implied distinction; of the honor conferred by your memorial and this demonstration. These will be a delight to myself and my home circle so long as our lives shall last.

In regard to the activities of a long and somewhat diversified career, and the indulgent compliments thereon in your memorial,

I am rather disposed to plead guilty than to take the risk of discordant revelations on a cross-examination. I pass them by except two instances not stated, for which I will claim eminent approval.

The first is the discovery of Maria Sanford; lover of her kind and country, she not only instructed her pupils, but inspired them. By example as by precept she showed them that life is worth living if lived well, and good work its own reward.

The other instance is my exchange of the presidency of the university for a congenial professorship making way for the coming of Cyrus Northrop to Minnesota; Cyrus Northrop, sane, sagacious, tolerant, magnanimous, under whose leadership the university grew from a small college to a rank beside old and great American universities. Cyrus Northrop — he needs no statue of bronze or marble. His image is graven on the hearts of the thousands who saw his gracious face and heard his kindly voice. His influence for whatever is noble, just, and holy, descending in ever-widening circles will affect multitudes of other souls to a time whereof the imagination of men cannot run to the contrary.

Kind reference is made in your memorial to my work as a historian of Minnesota. Praise for that is most grateful. Led into it fortuitously, it became my passion and ten years have been given to it. My guiding principle has been to find the truth and record it. Was this labor worth while? Yes, I say, if the state of Minnesota is worth while.

In the course of a century a handful of fur-traders and missionaries has grown to a host of near three millions. I like to fancy that Sibley, who had a strain of poetry in his make-up, had a vision of a million of happy people in a land of plenty when he chose out of a long list the Dunraven motto for the seal of the territory of Minnesota. *Quae sursum volo videre,* it runs in Latin; in English, reduced to lower terms — "I will read the future." Honored and revered, Sibley lived to see his vision realized. When the number of our population to the square mile, now about 30, reaches — and it may not be unreasonable to expect it — that of Illinois, 115.7, the host will swell to ten millions.

These millions, whether few or many, will not be a horde of nomads nor a mere casual concourse of human beings, but a unified social body — a community resident on an ascertained domain, their homeland not for a year and a day but forever and a day. Organized as a body politic, this commonwealth — a wedlock of people and land — this state is an eternal society; it has no term.

The state in the language of Burke, is "an everlasting partnership in all science, a partnership in all art, a partnership in every virtue and in all perfection." It is to such a state that you, Conscript Fathers of the Senate, have pledged and will render your devoted service.

The people of our, of any generation are custodians and trustees of the traditions, the institutions, the learning, the arts, and the faiths of the past to hand them on to their children, not merely undiminished, but so enhanced, so enriched, as to deserve the gratitude of posterity. To meet this duty we must know our state — what she has been and what she has done. We must know her faults and mistakes as well as her finest achievements. It is the part of the historian to read her records of the past and interpret them justly and impartially according to his conscience and ability.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Recent American History. By LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE, Associate professor of history in the University of Minnesota. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1924. 554 p. Illustrations, maps.)

Two aspects of the "new history" as applied to American development are the tendency to bring history up to date and the trend away from a purely political treatment of the past. History today seeks to explain the forces and events which have brought about the complex conditions of the present. The student is not left dangling in mid-air, halfway between the past and the present; nor is he offered a diet of husks. Professor Shippee is an exponent of the "new history," and in his newly published book he covers the field of American history from the Civil War to 1923 and makes a notable attempt to explain the realities of our development as a nation during that period.

The work is not a political history and it is not an economic history, but it manages to present the story of American political development in a fresh way; and it succeeds in bringing before the reader the outstanding facts of that mighty economic revolution which in the last half century has transformed American life. Nor does it fail to trace the interrelations between economic forces and politics, either in its treatment of domestic or in its handling of foreign policies. One critic has objected that the author attempts to ride two horses, leaping from one to the other as the exigencies of the situation demand. The figure is not a happy one. After all, the trip from 1865 to 1923 is a long one to make on a political nag. It is nearer the truth to say that the author does not bind himself to one mode of locomotion. He uses the horse — or should one say the elephant and the donkey? — but he also employs, at different stages of his journey, the railroad, the automobile, and the electric car, while here and there he even ventures up in an airplane. To change the figure, he recognizes that a complex of forces has gone into the making of modern America, and he does not depend upon any one key to

unlock the many doors which the student must enter. Consequently the believer in the economic interpretation and the believer in the political interpretation of history will be alike dissatisfied, but it is not so sure that the economic or the political historian can give, within a similar number of pages, an account of our recent national development which comes closer to the truth. Probably the author would frankly admit that his emphasis is intended to be rather upon the economic than upon the political factors, for he is profoundly conscious of the importance in American life of the economic revolution. And yet he is attempting to survey the situation as a whole, not trying to fit the facts to a theory, but rather to lay the facts themselves before the reader.

The most serious criticism that the present reviewer has to offer is that the book does not venture much into yet a third type of historical writing — the realm of social and intellectual history. After reading it one does not carry away many definite pictures of the life of the people themselves during the changing period — their social customs, their manners, the intellectual currents which influenced their existence, their religious thinking, their games, sports, diversions, and entertainment. The author gives us many starting points, which, if properly developed, will lead to some of these things, and he might answer the criticism by pointing out that after all a textbook cannot be expected to furnish sermons as well as texts. Texts are usually considered points of departure for discourses or investigations.

To write the history of recent events is a difficult matter indeed. Lack of perspective makes any attempt at final appraisement of events extremely hazardous. Many bundles of documents and papers of first importance are under lock and key, unavailable to the investigator. Finally, it must be confessed that even historians are human, and scholarly detachment is not always easy to attain in dealing with the heated partisan controversies of yesterday. Professor Shippee is keenly aware of the fact that many of his conclusions are necessarily tentative. "Time alone," he says, "allows the perspective by which unimportant details take their proper place in the background and really significant happenings stand out clearly." The historian must do his best, how-

ever, and in this case the author's judicial approach, honesty, and evident common sense inspire confidence.

The scope of the book under review can best be indicated by a brief description of its subject matter. The author departs from the conventional by giving at the outset, in addition to a survey of reconstruction in the South, a keen analysis of reconstruction in the North. He follows this with a general view of the country in the middle seventies — at the close of reconstruction — and then tells the story of the South's gradual emergence "Out of the Depths." Chapters on "Politics of the Hayes Administration" and "The Tariff and Politics" bring the story up to the administration of Grover Cleveland. Before discussing Cleveland's first term, the author gives first a compact account of the "Coming of Big Business," with concluding sections on "integrated industry" and the relations of "big business" to government, and thereupon a brief survey of the rise of labor. After a series of five chapters covering in the main the political story from the middle eighties to the middle nineties, he turns his attention to "Foreign Relations," pointing out that the rise of interest in this field was closely connected with the industrial revolution and the depletion of the public lands and with the demand for markets and supplies of raw materials. Three chapters are crammed with facts about foreign relations in the eighties and nineties, the war with Spain, and the acceptance of the "white man's burden," — the "Parting of the Ways." The dominant characteristics of the "New Age" — at the beginning of the twentieth century — are then discussed and the author explains that it was a new age "because something of a realization of the significance of material changes particularly of the past quarter century was dawning." In this section a real approach is made to the social meaning of the economic revolution. An important feature of the new age was "big business," and to this subject the author returns, describing the situation at the time when "trust busting" was coming into vogue.

Foreign policies under President Roosevelt are dealt with under the caption, "The Fruits of Imperialism." A footnote on the subject of Roosevelt's connection with the first Moroccan crisis contains this interesting remark: "Even if the part played by

the president was not the determinative part, the Algeciras Conference and the events which led up to it demonstrate that in world affairs the United States was virtually forced to assume a responsibility which would have been undreamed of a dozen, or even half that number of years before." Single chapters suffice for the Roosevelt domestic policies and the administration of President Taft. The overthrow of "Cannonism" in 1910 the author considers "much less significant than it seemed at the time," for "it exalted the caucus and did not in any considerable degree destroy party regularity." A good account of "The Progressives" is followed by a survey of "President Wilson's Peace Program." Foreign affairs then come to the center of the stage in chapters on "Latin America and the Monroe Doctrine," "The Trials of a Neutral," the entry into the war, the American participation, and the treaty. The author's point of view is perhaps expressed in his comment on the passage of the Knox Resolution in 1921: "So the war ended. America had gone into the struggle fired by an idealism which President Wilson had voiced for his countrymen. But a 'slump in idealism' had followed, and, to outward appearances, America intended to draw back into the shell which many people believed was real." Chapters on "Post War Problems" and "The Return of the Republicans" bring the work to an end. Apropos of the reaction the author remarks, "In the post-war sweep of reaction there was a general tendency to decry everything which questioned the existing order; it was a carrying over of the worse features of war hysteria heightened by tales of what was occurring in Russia. Too frequently it was used as a smoke screen to hide the real purposes of those who emphasized it."

It is a favorite sport of reviewers to bag a covey of misprints and minor errors. A large flock of them offer easy targets in the work under review, but doubtless most of them will be eliminated in the second edition. The book is written in a sober style, vigorous at many points, but never sprightly. The work has gained in compactness by the rigorous compression of facts, but it has probably lost something in readability. The publishers apparently impressed upon the author the fact that it was to be a textbook — and a textbook it is. It is one worth reading by

students of American history who are in college and by those not in college.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

Collections of the State Historical Society [of North Dakota]. Volume 5. Edited by ORIN G. LIBBY. (Grand Forks, 1923. 283 p. Illustrations, maps.)

As might be expected in a volume of "Collections," the book under review is made up of a series of miscellaneous papers, preceded by the customary lists of officers, of life and annual members, and of newspapers received, and articles of incorporation and by-laws. In volumes of this sort one wishes that such material could be relegated to the back pages if not removed entirely and printed in reports of the society.

Of special interest to Minnesota readers are the letter of the Reverend G. A. Belcourt, the missionary priest at the Red River settlement, describing a buffalo hunt in 1845, translated from the French original in the Congressional series (31 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents,* no. 51, p. 44–52 — serial 577); the diary kept by David M. Holmes while on a trip from Grand Forks to the Black Hills and back in 1876; and "A Sketch of the Minnesota Massacre" by Victor Renville, son of the Gabriel Renville who headed the friendly Sioux during the outbreak of 1862. A careful comparison of the latter narrative, written in the third person, with Gabriel Renville's "Sioux Narrative of the Outbreak in 1862, and of Sibley's Expedition in 1863," written in the first person and published in the *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 10: 595–613, shows such striking similarities as to render it probable that Victor Renville refreshed his boyhood recollections of the outbreak from the older account written by his father. The new material in the present narrative consists of the brief story of the death of Victor Renville, father of Gabriel, in an Indian fight about 1832; the account of the early life of Gabriel himself; the "list of camps at which scouts were stationed from 1863 to 1865"; and the genealogy of Victor Renville in the appendix. Gabriel Renville's story, however, gives a much fuller list of the scouts under his command. Mr. Samuel J. Brown made the Minnesota translation of Gabriel Renville's account from a

manuscript written in the Sioux language in the possession of Victor Renville. Like most reminiscences, Victor Renville's account contains some inaccuracies. For example, one looks in vain in the treaty of 1858 for any provision by which "only Indians on eighty acre improved farms could get" the aid provided for agriculture under the treaty of 1851 (p. 256), and Big Eagle's account of the Sioux Outbreak (*Minnesota Historical Collections*, 6: 389) shows that the Acton murderers belonged to Shakopee's band instead of Little Crow's as stated on page 257. Mazakutemani (shoots the iron or gun as he walks), better known as Little Paul, is wrongly called Cloud Man (p. 262). Nevertheless the publication of Victor Renville's narrative is to be commended, since all possible light is needed upon the circumstances surrounding the Sioux Outbreak of 1862.

Articles in the volume of more purely North Dakota interest are a "History of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa," by John Hesketh, with several special sketches as appendices; the "W-Bar Ranch on the Missouri Slope," by Bertha M. Kuhn; and an elaborate "History of the Formation of Counties in North Dakota," by Luella J. Hall, occupying nearly one hundred pages and illustrated by thirty-eight maps.

Instances of hasty proof reading are to be noted here and there, some of which are indicated on the errata sheet. The book is well bound, printed on good paper, and supplied with a table of contents and an adequate index.

WILLOUGHBY M. BABCOCK, JR.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The state appropriation for the regular activities of the society has been set at forty-seven thousand dollars for each year of the next biennium — an increase of three thousand dollars. The legislature appropriated also eighty-five hundred dollars for the construction of an additional level of the bookstacks in the Historical Building. The task of continuing and completing the work of the Minnesota War Records Commission was turned over to the society, and it received a special appropriation of six thousand dollars a year for this purpose. In the act for the reorganization of the state government the society is specifically mentioned as an agency of the state and the expenditure of its state appropriations is subjected to the supervision of the new department of administration and finance.

That county agricultural agents will add to their usefulness if they become familiar with the historical backgrounds of their respective communities is the view of Mr. Frank E. Balmer, state leader of the county agents. To every county agent in the state he has sent a bibliography of Minnesota county histories prepared by the society and mimeographed under his direction. The agents have also received copies of the sections of Dr. Warren Upham's *Minnesota Geographic Names* relating to their respective counties. At the same time Mr. Balmer has vigorously urged the value both of local and of state history to the group of practical agricultural workers under his direction. His action is a promising step in the development of local history interest and is peculiarly appropriate in view of the importance of the agricultural factor in Minnesota history.

The additions to the active membership during the quarter ending March 31, 1925, numbered 38, which bring the total to 1,378. A list of the names of the new members, grouped by counties, follows:

COTTONWOOD: Anthony C. Knudsen of Storden.

HENNEPIN: E. Floyd Allen, C. M. Anderson, Wilbur H. Cherry, John Clark, Arthur C. Danenbaum, Henry F. Douglas,

William C. Edgar, Dr. George E. Fahr, Alvin H. Hansen, Harriet D. Johnson, Fred J. Kelly, Ora M. Leland, Charles B. Lyon, Edmund A. Moore, Edward E. Nicholson, Wright T. Orcutt, William A. Reynolds, Charles H. Sanborn, John L. Smith, and C. Walter Young, all of Minneapolis.

ISANTI: Archie W. Troelstrup of Cambridge.

KANDIYOHI: Walter H. Stowe of Willmar.

LYON: Carl W. Hansen of Russell.

MCLEOD: Henry Braun of Hutchinson.

POPE: Conrad A. Nelson of Glenville.

RAMSEY: Dr. Louis E. Daugherty, Rhoda J. Emery, Joseph S. Mackey, W. Robert Mills, Oscar W. Swenson, Mrs. Horace Thompson, and James H. Weed, all of St. Paul.

RICE: Keith Clark and Clyde A. Duniway of Northfield.

STEELE: Dr. James W. Andrist of Owatonna.

NONRESIDENT: Gunnar E. Lundberg of Chicago, and George M. B. Hawley of Geneva, New York.

The society lost eight active members by death during the last three months: Martin O. Hall of San Diego, California, January 17, 1925; Harlan P. Roberts of Minneapolis, February 3; Mrs. R. H. Jefferson of Bingham Lake, February 9; Dr. David O. Thomas of Minneapolis, February 11; John F. McGee of Minneapolis, February 15; George W. Buck of Duluth, February 22; Allan K. Pruden of St. Paul, February 25; and Willis Drummond of Minneapolis, March 9. The deaths of two other active members, C. Francis Colman of Duluth, on April 23, 1924, and Timothy Doherty of St. Paul, on November 21, 1924, have not previously been reported in this magazine.

The number of subscribers to the society's publications has been increased to 164 by the addition of 8 institutions during the last quarter. These include the Dyckman Free Library of Sleepy Eye, and the public schools of Arco, Baudette, Cambridge, Canby, Dilworth, Kimball, and Marshall.

The nineteenth in the society's series of monthly radio talks was given on January 19 from the Twin City broadcasting station WCCO, by Miss Bertha L. Heilbron, research assistant, on the subject "Minnesota as Seen by Famous Travelers." The

superintendent gave the next talk in the series on February 12, taking as his subject "Lincoln and Minnesota." The twenty-first talk was on "The Voyageur" and was given by Dr. Grace L. Nute, curator of manuscripts, on March 17.

As usual members of the staff spoke before a number of organizations during the quarter ending March 31, generally on the work of the society or phases of Minnesota history. The superintendent addressed the Six O'clock Club, the Sons of the American Revolution, and the University of Wisconsin alumnæ, all of Minneapolis; the assistant superintendent spoke before the Hamline Six O'clock Club of St. Paul; and the curator of the museum, before the Current Events and Literary Club of Minneapolis.

Two articles dealing with "The Correlation of State and National History," with special reference to Minnesota, have been published by Theodore C. Blegen, the assistant superintendent, in the February and April numbers of the *Journal of the Minnesota Education Association.*

The Minnesota Historical Society is showing its interest in the forthcoming Norse-American Centennial celebration by loaning the centennial management the material for a typical pioneer log cabin. This cabin, to be erected with the assistance of the state timber department under the supervision of Mr. Chilson D. Aldrich of Minneapolis, who is giving his services as architect, will be set up near the Woman's Building at the Minnesota State Fair grounds in time for the centennial and later will be removed to the Historical Building, where it will be housed in the society's museum. While the cabin is typical for Minnesota in general, it will illustrate equally well the sort of homes built by the early Norwegian immigrants.

The society has had printed a number of large outline maps of Minnesota, which are intended to be used as base maps for various purposes. County lines are not shown, and the map differs from most maps of the state in that the northeastern triangle is not amputated.

The legislative session, as usual, resulted in a considerable increase in the number of visitors to the society's museum. Especial-

ly noteworthy is the record-breaking number of one hundred classes which visited the rooms during the first three months of the year. In a total of 3,545 students and teachers, 2,119 were from Minneapolis, 692 from St. Paul, and 734 from schools outside the Twin Cities. The number from St. Paul would have been much larger had it not been for restrictions on excursions due to the smallpox epidemic. Among the rural classes was one from Dawson in Lac qui Parle County near the western border of the state.

The curator of the museum gave a series of six talks to school children at the Riverview Library, St. Paul, in January, February, and March on the following topics: "Indian Legends," "Life in a Lumber Camp," "Paul Bunyan Yarns," "The Story of St. Paul," "A Trip with a Red River Train," and "The Sioux Outbreak."

Considerable assistance was given by the curator of the museum to officials of the Ramsey County Historical Society in connection with the loan exhibition of that society at the St. Paul Public Library in March.

The Curator of Manuscripts Goes Hunting

From December 25 to February 1 Dr. Grace Lee Nute, the society's curator of manuscripts, visited various cities, chiefly in the East, searching for unpublished material of interest to students of Minnesota history. She found many important papers which it is expected will be transcribed or photostated for the society and thus made available for the use of investigators in Minnesota. It is believed that a brief account of the results of her search will be of interest to the readers of this magazine.

At the Newberry Library in Chicago she examined a series of diaries and sketchbooks of Frank B. Mayer, artist delegate to the famous conclave in 1851 which produced the treaty of Traverse des Sioux. The diary volumes, three in number, are reported by Dr. Nute to cover Mayer's "journey from the East and his stay in Minnesota, including the treaty meetings." Five sketchbooks are filled with pencil drawings of Minnesota scenes and persons, including Little Crow, Kaposia, the camp at Traverse des Sioux,

Red River carts, and Indian men, women, and children. Other material of interest found at the Newberry Library is the memoirs, in three volumes, of Henry H. Snelling, a son of Colonel Josiah Snelling. In the first volume is considerable material reflecting the author's memories of a Minnesota childhood about a hundred years ago, when Colonel Snelling was in command of the fort which bears his name.

From Chicago Dr. Nute journeyed to Richmond, where she attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. After its close she went to Washington, where she first examined, at the Library of Congress, the Joseph N. Nicollet Papers. They comprise a large mass of manuscript journals, maps, and other records relating to the famous scientist's explorations, principally in the thirties. Naturally much of the material has to do with Minnesota. As examples may be cited a "Journal 1838 From St. Peter's to Spirit Lake," and a diary dated June 18 to July 15, 1838. In the latter, which is one hundred pages in length, is an interesting account of Joseph Renville. One paper in the collection, entitled "Agriculture in the Sioux Country, in respect to the condition of the Sioux Indians," is, in Dr. Nute's opinion, probably from the pen of Lawrence Taliaferro, the Indian agent.

As is well known, the government archives at Washington constitute a mine of historical information on the various states of the Union. An illustration of the importance of some of this material for Minnesota history is afforded in the bureau of the census, where Dr. Nute found the five manuscript volumes of the census of 1857 — the enumeration made with a view to proving the qualifications of Minnesota for statehood.

From Washington Dr. Nute went to New York to examine the American Fur Company Papers in the possession of the New York Historical Society — papers which are literally invaluable for the history of the fur trade in Minnesota under the American Fur Company régime. Calendar cards for much of this material have already been secured as well as a considerable number of photostats (see *ante*, 5: 504).

Perhaps the most interesting material which Dr. Nute's investigations brought to light was a series of volumes at the Congregational House in Boston, where the records of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions are kept. The

volumes in question contain letters, reports, and journals from missionaries to the Sioux and Chippewa, and they undoubtedly are sources of fundamental value for Minnesota history. One volume, entitled "Sioux Ojibwas 1831–1837" contains letters and detailed reports from Jedediah Stevens, Sherman Hall, William T. Boutwell, Granville T. Sproat, Thomas S. Williamson, Edmund F. Ely, and Frederick Ayer; the diary of Hall from August 5, 1831, to March 25, 1833; Boutwell's diary entitled "Tour with Mr. Schoolcraft, June 4–Aug. 6 [1832]"; and Sproat's diary for 1837. A similar volume covers the period from 1838 to 1844. In a volume entitled "Ojibwa, Pawnee and Stockbridge Indians, 1844–1859," are letters from Boutwell, Ely, Sproat, Hall, Charles Pulsifer, Abigail Spooner, Leonard H. Wheeler, and others. Yet another volume covers the period from 1860 to 1871. Five volumes contain "Dakota Mission" material. Of these the first is perhaps the most valuable, for it contains more than 450 documents, for the period from 1844 to 1859, including letters from Moses N. Adams, John F. Aiton, Hugh D. Cunningham, Joseph W. Hancock, Robert Hopkins, Alexander G. Huggins, Jonas Pettijohn, Gideon H. and Samuel W. Pond, Joshua Potter, Stephen R. Riggs, and Thomas S. Williamson. Particularly numerous are the letters from the last two. In the other volumes are the records of the Dakota missionary activities to 1883.

In all these libraries and government departments, Dr. Nute reports unfailing courtesy and helpfulness from those in charge of the manuscripts she wished to consult. A fine spirit of coöperation has grown up among historical agencies throughout the country which furthers incalculably the work of assembling unpublished material for regional history.

Accessions

Through Mr. Gunnar J. Malmin of Northfield, a copy has been received of an important letter written by the Reverend Jens Rynning, father of Ole Rynning (see *ante*, 2:223), which was printed in the newspaper *Morgenbladet* of Christiania, Norway, in its issue for October 10, 1839. It incorporates a letter by Hans Barlien, dated at "St. Fransville," Missouri, on April 23, 1839,

which tells about conditions in the western Norwegian settlements. Rynning, an influential minister, presents, after quoting the Barlien letter, an interesting argument against the emigration and offers a curious tabular comparison of the situation in Norway as compared with that in America, to the disadvantage of the latter.

The value of the society's calendar cards for manuscripts in the national archives is well illustrated by a group of papers recently photostated on the basis of references supplied by Dr. Newton D. Mereness. The photostats are of a letter from Governor Ramsey to the chief of the Indian office early in 1850, two letters from Norman W. Kittson, and one from the Reverend George A. Belcourt, all dealing with conditions at Pembina, and especially with the relations of the American traders and their rivals of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Some twelve letters written by Jane Williamson, sister of the missionary Dr. Thomas S. Williamson, from the Yellow Medicine mission in 1853, have been presented by Miss Margaret Aiton of Minneapolis, daughter of Mrs. John Aiton, to whom they originally were written. The letters are of special interest because they interpret from a woman's viewpoint the situation which confronted the early missionaries. Miss Aiton has also presented a biographical sketch of Dr. Williamson and reminiscences of the mission by her mother, together with a number of photographs of members of the Williamson family.

A rare and valuable source of information on the Swedish element in Minnesota is the weekly newspaper, *Minnesota Posten*, which began publication at Red Wing on November 7, 1857 — the first Swedish newspaper in Minnesota. The society now has available for the use of students a file of this paper covering the period from its beginning to October 13, 1858. Accompanying it is a copy of a prospectus of the paper issued by the Reverend Eric Norelius, its editor. "The Swedes, like other foreigners, are strangers in a new land, scattered like sheep having no shepard [*sic*]," he wrote. "They need encouragement and enlightenment on the subject of Religion; they need an organ

to advocate their cause and by means of which they may set themselves in communication with each other, and ways and means be discussed that will best promote their spiritual welfare. Politically, they need a true understanding of the laws and institutions of this country so that they may be able to do their duty as citizens and enjoy the privileges afforded. They need, moreover, to be enlightened on the political questions of the day, so as not to become the tools of every party politician to further his own selfish interests as the case has often been heretofore. These wants the paper contemplated will attend to."

Some twenty letters relating to the "Swedish-American Republican State Club," mainly for the year 1902, have been added by Mr. C. O. Alexius Olson of Minneapolis to the papers of the Swedish Historical Society of America, which are in the custody of the Minnesota Historical Society.

A contribution to the available sources of information on the Sioux Outbreak of 1862 has been made by Mr. E. L. Fryer, a participant in the war, who has written and presented an account of the campaign in the Yellow Medicine area.

A notebook containing Civil War records of members of Company K, First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, is one of a small group of papers recently presented by Mr. Orrin F. Smith of Winona. On almost every page one finds such entries as "killed at Gettysburg," "killed at Bull Run," and "died of wounds received at Gettysburg." Another item of special interest in the group is a Republican ballot for Winona County for the election of 1868, which contains the names of Grant for president and of Morton S. Wilkinson for congressman from the first district. The ballot is less than six inches in length.

Two letters written in 1920 by Senator Knute Nelson, paying tribute to his early teacher, Mary Dillon, have been given to the society by Mr. Bjorn Holland of Hollandale, Wisconsin, through the courtesy of ex-Governor Preus. Mr. Holland has also presented a short sketch of the life of Miss Dillon, prepared by himself. A letter written by Nelson on January 29, 1884, to Mr. Luth Jaeger of Minneapolis, which has been turned over to the

society by the latter, deals with the political situation in Norway and is of special interest because in it Nelson outlines his theories of sovereignty.

A short sketch of early lumbering methods by Mr. Nathan Butler of Minneapolis, whose experience in lumber camps dates back to the infancy of the lumber industry in Minnesota, has been loaned to the society by the author for copying, through the courtesy of Mr. Wright T. Orcutt of Minneapolis.

Business records of the lumber firm of John DeGraw and Son of St. Paul for the year 1878 to 1910, including daybooks, journals, and correspondence, have been presented by Mr. S. R. DeGraw of St. Paul.

Typed copies of extensive contemporary newspaper accounts of the ceremonies in St. Paul in September, 1883, attendant upon the reception of Henry Villard and his party, who were on their way west to drive the last spike in the Northern Pacific transcontinental road, have been presented by the Northern Pacific Railway Company.

Several Minnesota organizations have recently turned over to the society records, the permanent preservation of which is desirable from the standpoint of state social and professional history. The constitution and by-laws, minutes of meetings, and membership lists of the Norwegian Singing Society of Minneapolis for the years from 1889 to 1903 have been presented by Mr. Victor Nilsson of Minneapolis. Minutes of meetings and a scrapbook of programs of the Minnesota Academy of Medicine for the period from 1887 to 1923 fill five volumes given by Dr. John E. Hynes, secretary of the organization. Seven volumes of minutes and scrapbooks of the Minnesota State Dental Association have been deposited through its secretary, Dr. H. L. Cruttenden of Northfield.

The society has secured, through the courtesy of Mr. Carle Zimmerman of the University of Minnesota, a set of maps showing the geographical distribution of the individual membership of the Nonpartisan League in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Idaho, and Montana, probably for the year 1920. These maps, which were

obtained by Mr. Zimmerman from the League headquarters in Minneapolis, should be particularly useful for the study of agricultural conditions and the reaction of environment on political affiliations in the Northwest. From the Minnesota and the national Nonpartisan League the society has also secured approximately eighty thousand membership cards,— chiefly for Minnesota, but including some South Dakota and Iowa records,— which give the names and addresses of members, dates of joining the League, amounts paid, subscriptions to League publications, changes of address, renewals of membership, and organizer's initials. It is hoped that card records of the League for other states — Nebraska, Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, Wisconsin, Kansas, Oklahoma — will eventually be received from the same source. Obviously such materials constitute an important addition to the society's sources for the study of recent agrarian developments.

A valuable paper dealing with the history of the Baptists in Sweden and particularly the career of a Swedish Baptist missionary, Petter Leander Lundberg, has been written and presented to the society by Mr. Swen Bernard of St. Paul. The paper throws light upon the religious aspects of the background of the Swedish immigration to the United States.

To the society's collection of pioneer objects have been added a heavy basswood ox yoke, which was used by a party of pioneers emigrating from Illinois to Minnesota in 1868, and a band cutter used in threshing, given by Mr. William Schrump of Dennison; an old coffee mill given by Mr. N. Groth of West Union; and a peculiar six-armed skein reel and a copper cowbell presented by Mrs. George W. Dicus of St. Paul.

An unusually interesting example of an old grandfather's clock has been deposited with the society by Mr. and Mrs. Herbert C. Varney of St. Paul. The clock, which was made in 1756 by David Blasdel of Amesbury, Massachusetts, has substantial works, a painted pewter dial, and a painted wooden case. It is both an ornamental and a utilitarian addition to the society's museum, for, although nearly 170 years old, it is still faithfully keeping time.

Two relics of the fur trade recently received are an iron trade ax with wide cutting edge from Mr. Oscar Gimmestad of Belview, who found it on an old Indian trail; and an old iron muskrat spear of unusual size, from Mr. C. B. Moses of Lake Crystal, who unearthed it on his farm.

The society's collection of objects illustrating the development of American domestic life has been enriched recently by gifts of dresses, gloves, and sewing appliances of the early part of the present century, from Miss Mary H. Folwell of Minneapolis; a gentleman's shirt of the style worn in the middle eighties, from Mrs. Nellie Wright of Excelsior; a fine Lowestoft cup and saucer, from Miss Abby A. Fuller of St. Paul; and a small Seth Thomas mantel clock of about 1867, from Mr. S. R. DeGraw of St. Paul.

A full World War uniform of a private in the ordnance department and an officer's uniform overcoat of the Spanish-American War, both used by the late George W. Dicus of St. Paul, have been presented by Mrs. Dicus.

Views of the St. Paul ice palace celebrations, of buildings and street scenes in the Twin Cities, of Lake Minnetonka and White Bear Lake, and of the ceremonies connected with the completion of the building of the Great Northern transcontinental road are among the more than four hundred photographs dating from the eighties and nineties which have been presented to the society by the Buckbee-Mears Company of St. Paul. Other additions to the picture collection include a small framed picture showing Governor Ramsey and the Minnesota Senate of 1861, from the executive office of the state through the courtesy of Mr. Herman E. Samuelson; and a group of pictures of presidents of the Minnesota Dental Association from 1884 to 1900, presented by its secretary, Dr. H. L. Cruttenden of Northfield.

NEWS AND COMMENT

A notable article on "The Significance of the Section in American History," by Frederick J. Turner, appears in the March *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. Mr. Turner believes that the "significance of the section in American history is that it is the faint image of a European nation and that we need to re-examine our history in the light of this fact." Our politics and our society, he asserts, "have been shaped by sectional complexity and interplay not unlike what goes on between European nations." He points out that our national action must be shaped to the fact of a "vast and varied Union of unlike sections" and that insistence upon particular sectional interests without a sympathetic understanding of the interests of other sections should be avoided.

To place the various religious movements in America since colonial days in their general setting in American history is the object of Dr. Henry K. Rowe's *History of Religion in the United States* (New York, 1924. 213 p.). Perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book is that entitled "Religion on the Frontier," a scholarly review and interpretation of an important aspect of the westward movement. In one brief chapter Dr. Rowe disposes of a subject which offers material for many volumes. The story of "home missionary" activities in pioneer Minnesota alone is a long and intricate one. It is also one of absorbing interest, and when it is fully told it will fill out an important chapter not only in Minnesota history but also in the history of the West. Many new materials for such a study have recently come to light.

The Federal Farm Loan Bureau, Its History, Activities and Organization is the title of a useful study, by W. Stull Holt, which has been brought out by the Institute for Government Research as number 34 of its *Service Monographs of the United States Government* (Baltimore, 1924. 160 p.).

Some recent regional agricultural history is embodied in the series of papers published under the title "The Agricultural Situation in the United States," in the January issue of the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

The "agrarian crusade" continues to receive the attention of research workers in the field of western history. Two articles in the March number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* relate to the subject — one on "The Background of Populism in Kansas," by Raymond C. Miller, and the other on "Ohio and the Greenback Movement."

An Annotated Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Finley Collection on the History and Romance of the Northwest has been published by Knox College (Galesburg, Illinois, 1924. 67 p.). This collection, which is especially strong on the French period, has been assembled and presented to the library of Knox College by Mr. Edward Caldwell of New York. The catalogue contains much useful bibliographical information and is supplemented by a reprint of Appleton P. C. Griffin's "Bibliography of the Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley," which was originally published in the *Magazine of American History* for March and April, 1883.

A valuable illustration of scientific method as applied to the study of a local community and its history is afforded in a pamphlet entitled *Rural Religious Organization, a Study of the Origin and Development of Religious Groups,* by J. H. Kolb and C. J. Borman (Madison, 1924), in which the situation in Dane County, Wisconsin, is subjected to careful analysis. The result is not merely an illuminating explanation of church tendencies in a typical mid-western community but also is an informing contribution to social history. The pamphlet is issued as number 60 of the *Research Bulletins* published by the agricultural experiment station of the University of Wisconsin.

For people possessing the divine gift of curiosity and unafraid of dust, garrets have an irresistible lure. A progressive teacher in St. Louis, Miss Julie Koch, has exploited the family attics of her students with such conspicuous success that in reporting her experiment in an article published in the April *Historical Outlook* she employs the following title, "The Garret: A Depository for Source Material in American History." She declares that "a wealth of historical material for the middle west is lying idle in the garrets of some of our pioneers." Perhaps under the guidance

of history teachers, high school students may help the mid-western states to save many valuable historical records from destruction. Miss Koch makes it plain that her students enjoyed studying the curious and illuminating early letters and other papers which the attic hunts disclosed.

The coördination of state and national history by the use of a volume of readings in state history as a part of the general American history course is proposed for Pennsylvania schools by Asa Earl Martin, who describes his plan in the April *Historical Outlook* in an article entitled "One Solution of the State History Problem."

Sensible suggestions about *State and Local History in the High School* with special reference to Iowa are made by Bruce E. Mahan in number 12 of the *Bulletin of Information Series* issued by the State Historical Society of Iowa (1924. 7 p.).

Indian pictographs carved on the surfaces of great boulders near Pipestone are described and a number of legends connected with the region are related in an article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for March 1. Some of the strange examples of primitive art to be found on these pictured rocks are reproduced with the article.

One of the most interesting possibilities in connection with the Norse-American Centennial celebration in St. Paul in June is the organization of a Norwegian-American Historical Society. An important field of activity would be open to such an organization both in the collection of historical material and in publication. Undoubtedly large numbers of immigrants' letters and diaries are still preserved among the descendants of the Norwegian pioneers who came to the upper Mississippi Valley. Organized effort might result in the permanent preservation of much material of this type and in its accessibility to the public. Such records are of course valuable not only for the history of the Norwegian element in the United States but also for the general history of the westward movement.

Elaborate plans have been worked out for exhibits which are to be on display at the Minnesota State Fair grounds, St. Paul, during the Norse-American Centennial festivities. From a great

many sources objects are being assembled which will illustrate Norwegian-American life and activities. In connection with the exhibits essays are being prepared by special students on all the more important phases of the history of the Norwegian-Americans and presumably arrangements will later be made for their publication.

A joint resolution adopted by the legislature of the state of Minnesota and approved on January 30 recites the services of the people of Norse descent to Minnesota and the Northwest and expresses the state's official approval of the centennial celebration in June.

School Calendar 1824–1924; A Who's Who Among Teachers in the Norwegian Lutheran Synods of America is the title of a compendious biographical work compiled and edited by Dr. Olaf M. Norlie (Minneapolis, 1924. 802 p.). This book is valuable not only for its record of educational activities among Norwegian-Americans but also for its vast fund of bibliographical information. The volume contains sketches of 3,600 individuals — about 2,700 teachers in higher institutions, about 700 parochial school teachers, and about 100 each Sunday school teachers and "promoters of the Norwegian schools." Each biographical sketch contains information concerning the writings of the individual. The volume bears testimony to the scholarly care and enormous labor which Dr. Norlie has expended in gathering and organizing his material. His preface is a suggestive essay from the statistical point of view, on Norwegian-American educational history. It should be noted that this volume is one of a "calendar series" which is intended to make available in compact form a vast amount of information about the Norwegians in the United States.

A brief article on "Icelandic Pioneers in North America" is published in the *Quarterly Journal* of the University of North Dakota for January.

A study of *The Germans in the Making of America*, by Frederick F. Schrader, has been brought out by the Knights of Columbus in their *Racial Contribution Series* (Boston, 1924. 274 p.).

The fur trade in Iowa is dealt with in a series of popular articles by George F. Robeson in the January *Palimpsest*. One presents a lively description of "Life Among the Fur Traders."

An interesting phase of Red River history is recalled in an article entitled, "How the Scotch Came to Iowa 100 Years Ago," which is published in the *Des Moines Register* for January 25. The story revolves around the adventures of Ebenezer Sutherland, who left Scotland in 1815 to join the Selkirk settlers and who, after enduring the hardships of life in the Red River colony for more than twenty years, made the long journey in 1838 through Minnesota via Fort Snelling to the Scotch colony in Jones County, Iowa. The narrative includes an outline of the career of his son, Mr. D. W. Sutherland of Manning, Iowa.

The renaming of the village of Falsen, North Dakota, for La Vérendrye and his sons is the occasion for the publication of a somewhat detailed review of their explorations in the Northwest, by J. L. Close, in the *Great Northern Semaphore* for March.

An article entitled "The Public Archives of Canada" by H. P. Biggar, in the February issue of the *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research of the University of London will be very helpful to anyone who has occasion to use the collections or publications of the Public Archives of Canada for research purposes. The article furnishes not only "a brief résumé of the various series of records," but also a key to the location of calendars or selections which have been printed. A second installment will appear in the June issue of the *Bulletin*.

General Minnesota Items

A commission to obtain designs for a statue of Alexander Ramsey to be installed in National Statuary Hall in Washington and for a monument to Henry H. Sibley to be erected on Pilot Knob near Mendota was provided for by chapter 58 of the *Laws* of 1925. The commission is to be appointed by the Governor and is to secure estimates in addition to designs, but no expense to the state can be incurred without further legislation. The erection of a statue of the late Senator Nelson on the Capitol

grounds opposite the statue of Governor Johnson is also authorized by a joint resolution of the legislature. This statue is to be erected by the Knute Nelson Memorial Association, which was appointed by Governor Preus and has been raising money for the purpose. Still another project for a statue is embodied in a joint resolution of the legislature authorizing the Governor to appoint a commission to be known as the Lumberjack Memorial Association and giving consent to the erection by this commission on the Capitol grounds of a "Statue of the Lumberjack, with the proper inscription." Funds for this statue also are to be raised by subscription.

A method of changing the names of lakes and streams in Minnesota and of supplying names for such as have none is provided by chapter 157 of the *Laws* of 1925. The decision is to rest with county boards or with joint boards in case more than one county is concerned and is to be made upon petition and after public hearings. The boards are instructed to avoid duplication of names as far as possible, and there is a provision that no name which "has existed for forty years" shall be changed.

The Pipestone State Park designed to include the famous pipestone quarry in southwestern Minnesota, which was long used by the Indians, is established by chapter 107 of the *Laws* of 1925. A small tract of land embracing the quarry was reserved for the Indians in 1858, and the expectation is, apparently, that part of this will be turned over to the state for park purposes by the United States. In connection with this project, there has been issued a sixteen-page brochure containing a petition to the legislature from the Pipestone County Park Committee, a report to the state auditor by W. E. Stoopes, assistant state park engineer, and a section entitled "Indian Legends." The historical interest of the proposed park is stressed and a number of illustrations are included.

In the *Third Biennial Report* of the Minnesota War Records Commission, for 1923 and 1924 (31 p.), the secretary, Mr. Franklin F. Holbrook, reviews the work accomplished by the commission since its establishment and indicates the general nature of its plans for the biennium 1925–27. The work of the first bien-

nium of its activities was largely devoted to the collection of records. Mr. Holbrook writes, "Some idea of the extent of the collection may be gained from the fact that it comprises, exclusive of all except the manuscripts, nearly a million and a half separate items and fills hundreds of filing-case drawers. . . . The records in these collections will contribute very largely to the interest, the fullness, and the accuracy of Minnesota's war history." In the appendix to the report Mr. Holbrook publishes a descriptive catalog of the "state's war records collection for the periods of the Spanish-American War, the Philippine Insurrection, and the World War." From the impressive amount of material which has been gathered not only in the field of individual service records and records of military units but also in that of "home activities," it is apparent that foundations have been laid for a comprehensive history of Minnesota in the World War. The commission's activities in its second biennium resulted in the bringing out of the work on Minnesota in the *Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection,* which was reviewed in this magazine for August, 1923. The biennium of 1923–25 witnessed the publication of Mr. Collins' *History of the 151st Field Artillery* and the beginning of work on the comprehensive series of narrative and documentary publications as originally planned. Two specific projects, it is announced, have been started, one, a history of the Minnesota units in the Sandstorm division, and the other, "the compilation of the projected three-volume general roster of Minnesota service men." Another possible narrative volume is suggested to deal with "Recruiting and the Selective Draft." Since Mr. Holbrook's report appeared action by the state legislature has made necessary a radical change in plans for the further prosecution of the war records work. The collections of the commission will be turned over to the Minnesota Historical Society at the end of the fiscal year and the society will undertake to complete the work "in two volumes without roster" as directed by law (see *ante,* p. 198).

An exhibit of early maps of America at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts was explained by its director, Mr. Russell A. Plimpton in a lecture on March 1. A brief account of the exhibit in the *Minneapolis Journal* for March 1 calls attention to some early

French maps which locate the Falls of St. Anthony and the Minnesota River.

"Rediscovering Minnesota" is the title of a series of articles on "Where the Names Came From" which appears each day on the editorial page of the *Minneapolis Daily Star*. Explanations of Minnesota geographic names, largely based upon Dr. Warren Upham's book on that subject, are offered.

Points along the Minnesota River Valley are discussed in the third installment of "Tales of the Trails," in the Minneapolis Public Library's *Community Bookshelf* for February.

"Navigation Above the Falls of St. Anthony" is the title of a detailed chronological narrative by Captain Fred A. Bill, installments of which appear each week in the *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa, beginning February 7. The author evidently has combed contemporary newspapers to gather the bits of information for the little-known story of this phase of Mississippi River traffic, which begins with the trial trip of the steamboat "Governor Ramsey" on May 25, 1850. He deals first with river transportation between St. Anthony and St. Cloud, and he quotes long extracts referring to this traffic not only from St. Paul and St. Anthony newspapers, but from those of smaller settlements along the river, such as Monticello. In the *Post* for March 7 Captain Bill describes in some detail the trip of the "Anson Northup" in 1858, when it went over Sauk Rapids and pushed northward to Pokegama Falls, and he quotes one newspaper's prediction that in time "a canal forty or fifty miles long will connect the Mississippi with Red Lake river, thence into Red River of the North, and thus procure water transportation from New Orleans to Pembina."

A "History of Great Northern Railway Company" is published as number 6 of a series on "American Railroads" in *Shipper and Carrier: The National Illustrated Traffic Journal* for February. As a background for the history of the railroad, events of essential Minnesota interest, such as the ill-fated bond issue of 1858 and the opening of the state's first railroad, are recalled; and the early career of James J. Hill is reviewed with emphasis upon his first railroad contacts. The story of the con-

struction of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad from 1864 to 1872, of its failure in the latter year, of its reorganization in 1879 as the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway Company, and of the final change of name to the Great Northern in 1890 is then outlined. Taken as a whole this is a useful account of the origin and expansion of the Great Northern Railroad, excellently illustrated by three maps showing the system in 1880, in 1900, and in 1925.

"Motordom Observes Silver Anniversary" is the heading used by the *Minneapolis Tribune* in its issue of February 1 for the announcement of the 1925 Twin City automobile show. With the descriptions of the latest automobile improvements are published pictures of some early models and a review of the development by years of the automobile industry from 1899 to 1924. An account of the experiences of Mr. O. W. Thomas of Minneapolis as "Minnesota's first automobile driver" appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for January 14.

Some of the contrasts between the principles of "frontier lawmaking" in Minnesota and those which were to guide the state's forty-fourth legislative session are pointed out by Mr. Charles B. Cheney in an illustrated article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for January 4. Especially does he compare the economy measures of the recent session with the lavish expenditures sanctioned by the legislature of 1858.

The Sioux Outbreak and the Minnesota frontier of 1859–62 furnish the background for a five-part story entitled "The Homesteaders," by Hugh Pendexter, in the issues of *Adventure* from November 30, 1924, to January 10, 1925. The author has evidently studied the literature on the subject extensively; and, in spite of a number of palpable errors, his picture of the times is not only vivid but also realistic from the historical point of view. Many of the characters are real persons and many of the incidents were actual occurrences.

Local History Items

Masonic activities on the Minnesota frontier are recalled in a pamphlet entitled *Fiftieth Anniversary, Mt. Tabor Lodge No.*

106 *A. F. & A. M.* (Detroit, 1923). In addition to an account of the organization of the lodge in February, 1873, and an outline of its history, the booklet contains sketches and portraits of charter members and first officers and facsimiles of documents from the early records of the lodge.

Beginning with its issue for February 26, the *Taylors Falls Journal* prints weekly installments of a "History of Taylors Falls" by "one of the early settlers of our village who has at his disposal old newspaper files." The story, which opens with the year 1837, is of a fragmentary nature.

The experiences of a settler who came to southern Minnesota in 1855 are related in an unsigned article entitled "Pioneering in Freeborn County," published in the *Community Magazine* of Albert Lea for February.

Two valuable histories of Norwegian Lutheran congregations in Minnesota which have not previously been mentioned in this magazine have been published by the Reverend E. M. Hanson of New London. One, entitled *Nordland Menighet, Kandiyohi og Meeker Counties, Minnesota, 1868–1918* (Minneapolis, 1918. 56 p.), tells the story of an important church in Kandiyohi County. The other deals with the Chippewa Norwegian Lutheran Church in Brandon, Douglas County, and was issued in connection with the fiftieth anniversary of that church (Minneapolis, 1921. 42 p.).

The battle of a trapper, Edward Orr, for his life in one of the severe blizzards of the late sixties in the prairie country of Jackson County is described by Edward J. Orr in the *Jackson Republic* for March 13.

An editorial advocating the establishment of a county historical society for Lake of the Woods County while some of the men who remember important events in its history are still alive is printed in the *Northern News* of Spooner for February 13.

The first two installments of a series of articles on the early history of Le Sueur County are published in the *Le Sueur News-Herald* for March 11 and 25.

A contribution to local history annals of unusual interest is the series of "Letters from a Pioneer Woman: Britania J. Livingston," edited by her daughter, Nora Livingston Heermance of New Haven, Connecticut, which is appearing in the Saturday issues of the *Fairmont Daily Sentinel*. After beginning with a brief introductory sketch of her mother on January 24, Mrs. Heermance publishes selections from the letters on such subjects as a frontier neighborhood (February 14), prairie fires (February 21), blizzards (March 7), and prairie cabins (March 14). Remarkable pictures of frontier social conditions and of life at Tall Oaks, the Livingston farm in Martin County, are thus presented. In one letter, evidently written to a prospective settler and dated May 25, 1870, Mrs. Livingston describes Minnesota as "the land of log cabins and liberty; of ragged men, dirty children and of overworked women, but also the land of broad acres, bright hopes and better health." Then she goes on to say "If you have ever studied Geometry, it will help you about your cabin keeping. . . . A woman here needs to understand surveying and generalship and many things not taught females in schools." This pioneer woman seems to have had a vision of modern scientific farming when writing "Minnesota wants farmers . . . men of talent, scientific men, who understand books and chemistry and the nature and composition of the soil, but farmers all the same. Send us men of brains; and Minnesota will soon bring up farming to the other honorable professions."

The seventieth anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church of Shakopee, which was founded by Samuel W. Pond, was celebrated on February 22. The principal address, entitled "Reminiscences of an Elder," was delivered by Mr. E. Judson Pond of Bloomington, a son of the missionary.

The first of a series of articles on "Sibley County's Early History," published under the name of Win V. Working and furnished by a feature service organization, appears in the *Winthrop News* for March 12. Some of the early installments are based upon the recollections of William R. Kahlow of Okanogan, Washington, who lived at Henderson from 1854 to 1868.

At a meeting of the St. Louis County Historical Society on March 2 at Duluth papers were read on the "History of Banking in St. Louis County," by Richard L. Griggs; "The Home Front in St. Louis County during the Great War," by Mrs. J. R. McGiffert; and "Historical Recollections," by the Reverend Charles W. Ramshaw. The meeting was held under the auspices of the St. Louis County chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

About two hundred people attended the forty-first annual meeting of the Lake Pepin Old Settlers Association at Lake City on February 5.

At a meeting of the Dayton's Bluff Commercial Club of St. Paul on February 9, Mr. Herbert P. Keller gave an address on "Dayton's Bluff 50 Years Ago."

An interesting illustration of the local museum possibilities in the older communities of the state was given by the success of a loan exhibition of historical material staged in the St. Paul Public Library from March 11 to 18 by the Ramsey County Historical Society. Many objects of distinct historical interest were brought together from various sources and large numbers of people viewed the display. The occasion for the exhibition was the seventy-first anniversary of the incorporation of the city of St. Paul.

The bell used by the St. Paul fire station at Delos and Clinton streets from 1886 to 1924 has been presented to the Ramsey County Historical Society.

The passing of forty years since a charter was granted to Summit Masonic Lodge, No. 163, of St. Paul, was celebrated by its members on February 6. An account of the early history of the lodge, which had its origin in the transportation difficulties encountered by Masons in attending downtown meetings, is published in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for February 1.

An early street railway transportation project, the building in 1887 of St. Paul's first cable line, which "extended from St. Albans street down Selby avenue to Third street, down Third to Fourth, and on Fourth to Broadway," is the subject of a feature

article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for March 22. Among the illustrations are pictures showing the installation of machinery along Selby avenue and portraits of Mr. E. T. Abbott of Minneapolis, the engineer who had charge of the construction of the line.

Among the speakers at the fiftieth anniversary services of the Immanuel Lutheran Church of Minneapolis on January 25 was its founder, the Reverend H. G. Stub, now president of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. The twentieth anniversary of the Holy Trinity English Lutheran Church of Minneapolis was marked by a week of celebration beginning January 25.

The development of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts during the decade since its opening on January 7, 1915, is described and the "Growth of Collections" during the same period is outlined in two articles in the institute's *Bulletin* for February. The first article, which dwells especially on the institute's educational work among Minneapolis school children, is reprinted in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for February 1.